Baking Power:
French-Canadian and Franco-Ontarian Cultural Identity
as Defined by Evolving Traditional Foodways in Astorville, Ontario

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Abstract

Questions about cultural identity and allegiance are complicated. What makes a person French, French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian? What is the difference between these various labels? How do demographics, gender, and age impact the ways in which cultural allegiance is created, maintained, or discarded? What defines a person's membership in a cultural group? Is it one's ability to speak the language? To make and/or eat cultural foods? If one of these fails to be present, can the person still be a part of the group? In our multicultural country, and especially in rural communities in Northern Ontario where Francophones find themselves to be part of a minority, such questions do not have simple answers. Studying cultural retention in such communities necessitates paying attention to more than just who is speaking French and/or to who is an activist for French rights. It also requires understanding how individual attitudes and behaviours are like and/or unlike those of others and of the larger group. Foodways are one of the specific cultural practices that can tell us about the group. Indeed, traditional foods have been shown to be very political expressions of personal values and opinions. What power does French-Canadian food have over those who make it? What does it tell us about those who claim allegiance to this cultural group?

This interdisciplinary case study of Astorville, Ontario, relates to the fields of food studies, cultural studies, history, gender studies, material culture studies, performance studies, and autoethnography. By studying foodways, which are closely connected to heritage, language, religious practices, and rituals, this project seeks to understand how minority groups resist and/or acquiesce to societal pressures to conform to the culture of the majority. Knowing that modernisation and urbanisation have changed the lifestyle of once agricultural communities, that women now participate in the workforce, and that an individual's personal history is an important factor in determining how one subscribes to cultural norms, this is an important time to understand the cultural evolution taking place

in communities, like Astorville, Ontario, where the French population has gone from a majority to a minority since it was established.

Key Words: interdisciplinary, autoethnography, Franco-Ontarian minority, gender, foodways, traditions

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*"*Experiencing Reality through Cookbooks: How Cookbooks Shape and Reveal Our Identities" *M/C Journal* vol. 16, no. 3 (June 2013); *"*Identity Recovery After Collision: Recovering Identity Through Language in Postcolonial Drama" *Journal of Integrated Studies* vol. 1, no. 2 (2011); "'*Tried! Tested! Proven!*" *The Canadian Home Cook Book Compiled by: Ladies of Toronto and Chief Cities and Towns in Canada*, 1877, 384' *CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Studies / Le journal des études sur l'alimentation au Canada.* 6.1 (2015).

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Preface

“How much pork is in this venison,” I asked as I placed packages of frozen meat in the kitchen sink to thaw. The butcher paper had 2016 scrawled in thin, black marker but nothing else. The meatloaf I made the other day came out nice and moist but tourtière, a French-Canadian traditional meal, is less forgiving than meatloaf. There is no egg, relish, or ketchup to hold the meat mixture together. Without the pork, my pies would be too lean. I had learnt the previous year. My first solo attempt at this traditional, French-Canadian Christmas meal had not been as successful as I had hoped. My meat pies weren’t bad. Just dry. My husband had wasted no time in drawing parallels between my dry, French-Canadian tourtière and my dry, German cakes. A statement he makes almost anytime I make a dessert. Just the other day, in fact, he asked our five-year old to blow on a piece of Chipits Cake so she could watch the crumbs fly across the counter top. She thought it was funny. He was trying to make a point he keeps hoping I’ll get. After ten years, I’ve stopped paying attention. He doesn’t eat desserts anyway so trying to please him on that front is a waste of time.

“You can’t use all that venison!” he boomed as he walked up to inspect.

“Why not?”

“It’s not all ours.”

“What? It was in the freezer.”

“Yeah, cause that’s where I put it. But we have to give the other guys their share.”

“Haven’t you already done that?”

“No. That’s why it’s still in the boat house and not in the wild game freezer.”

“Okay, okay. I guess I can use some pork.” We have a chest freezer specifically for wild game and a tall stand-up one for domestic, store-bought meat. The latter is full from having recently split on a whole pig. This would be a good way to use up some of the ground pork.

Looking sadly at what appeared to be the last of our deer, I remembered that it hadn’t been a very productive hunting season. I was disappointed. I like using deer meat. It’s healthier and can be cheaper. Part of me was disappointed I hadn’t been hunting to help contribute but I had not finished my hunting course in time. I reminded myself that it wouldn’t have made a difference. Few deer had been seen this year during hunting season.

“Do you think that’ll be enough?” I asked out loud to no one in particular. The recipe called for four pounds of meat – a mixture of veal, pork, and beef – I’d never been good at knowing what a pound of meat looked and felt like. Did I have enough for a double batch? Maybe a triple? I had no idea. We’d see. Trial and error, I supposed. This lack of instinct bothered me. Aren’t women supposed to be natural homemakers? I was sure that if I asked my husband he could tell me exactly how much meat was in the sink. I shot him a look out of the corner of my eye but kept the question to myself.

I made tourtière last year out of principle. I had been feeling like a bit of a fraud doing a PhD on traditional, French-Canadian food when I had never made this iconic dish. I’d eaten lots of tourtière over the years. It’s a Christmas staple served at all my French-Canadian relatives’ homes over the holidays. But I had never made it. My husband doesn’t like it. My kids are not big fans of it either so it had never made much sense to spend the time boiling the meat and rolling the dough to have the final product waste in the freezer. Last year, however, I decided I had to try it. I felt a desire to be part of a tradition that is, I have come to realise, larger than just the making and consuming of a meat pie. In my family and community, this act is one that has been repeated every year for over a century. Made mostly by women, but sometimes also by men,

tourtière is part of the cultural fabric of our area. This year I was working on making a habit of preparing it and maybe, hopefully, having it grow on the rest of my immediate family.

In 2018, times are not what they were. When my mother married, making tourtière was automatic. The same was true for my grandmother. I wouldn't call it a rite of passage since I don't think they saw it as such, but it was an expectation. To this day, I am the only one of my three siblings to have made tourtière on their own and many of the people I interviewed for this project do not make it themselves. Like my sisters and brother, many of my participants said that a few servings a year at their parents' home was enough for them.

Is this once staple, unquestioned part of the réveillon and the French-Canadian household, on the verge of extinction? Does it risk disappearing from the menu with time? If it does, what impact will that have on future generations? Will it matter in the long run if they don't have tourtière in their lives? Few people question the loss of head cheese or blood sausage. Will the tourtière's rich dough-and-meat mixture suffer the same fate in our health-conscious society?

These questions may seem trivial. It's just a meat pie, after all. Who really cares? There are, arguably, better things to eat. Some that are healthier, for example, or that do not depend on ketchup for flavour. Foods that take far less time and effort to make. After all, it takes a day to make tourtière by the time the meat is cooked and cooled then put into pie crusts and baked – especially if the dough is made from scratch.

I stood at the sink contemplating all these questions and how I might tackle the various angles of history, culture, tradition, and gender in a PhD dissertation about traditional foodways and culture. I could already use this experience to look at male-female roles and expectations, the material reality of the ingredients, the act of celebration and ritual associated with this specific dish. As I played with these ideas in my head, snippets of my daughters' conversation made their way through the open space between the living room and the kitchen. It struck me

that they were playing in English. I caught myself just before blurting out: “Parlez français, les filles!” Even though they attempt to reprimand my husband and me whenever we speak English to each other, I try hard not to reciprocate. Besides, in the moment it took me to pause, they had switched from English back to French.

I listened more closely and realised that, once again, they were switching between languages: the game was held in English but instructions and specifications about it were delivered in French. They moved naturally, instinctively, between the two languages. I’ve seen such behaviour on numerous occasions. Depending on who they are talking to, they will speak English or French and they will switch from one language to the next as people enter or leave the conversation. It’s impressive on one hand. We only ever speak French to them. They have always gone to French-language daycare and elementary school. Yet these two girls have learned enough English from their friends, television, and weekend activities to be bilingual. They are not quite as fluent in English as they are in French, but they certainly have all the words they need to play with others their age and to get their meaning across when speaking with adults.

I was once again left pondering the link between language, ritual, and culture. Which of the main events going on in that moment was most important in ensuring that my children would view themselves as French-Canadian: eating tourtière or playing in French? Which would have a better chance of happening: developing a taste for a traditional meal or not speaking “Franglais”?[1] When they meet Franco-Ontarians or French-Canadians in other places, what would create a stronger bond: shared experiences or a shared language?

[1] “Franglais,” according to Dictionary.com means “French spoken or written with a large admixture of English words, especially those of American origin.” This term, which appeared in the 1960s refers to this blending of languages by blending the terms *français*, French, and *anglais*, English. See “Franglais,” Dictionary.com accessed 12 August 2017 http://dictionary.com/browse/franglais

This doctoral project is the result of thirty-five years of living as a hyphenated, hybrid individual. Where I live, it is not possible to live solely in French. One must also speak English. The oscillation between languages means that individuals often also switch back and forth as they speak. Speaking “Franglais” does not mean, however, that I am not proud of my French roots. It does not mean that my culture and heritage are not important. On the contrary; I am very proud and they are very important. Throughout this paper, I explore the ways in which culture is transmitted to the next generation. While I am interested in understanding people’s attitudes toward, and use of, the French language, I also look at other cultural references, such as foodways and religion; habits, such as farming, gardening, and hunting; and gender. Specifically, I question whether traditional foodways can carry on values and ideas if language skills fail or when they are weakened into a Franglais.

This is an interdisciplinary paper. In other words, it draws from a variety of disciplines to answer this complex question. The paper is organised into five chapters based on the main areas of questioning that have driven the research of this project. The first chapter will explain what an interdisciplinary approach means and how it is important in this study. That chapter also considers my role as both objective researcher and subjective member of this study. As an autoethnographic project, it is fitting to start with my connection to the project. In this first section I will introduce the setting and the participants who have allowed me to answer this question and explain the rationale for studying various generations of some of Astorville’s founding families: the Buckners, Dégagnés, Girards, Laperrières, Perrons, and Rocheforts.

The power of autoethnography lies in the reflection that comes when the researcher is confronted with, and is exposed to, views other than his/her own. Through reflection and introspection, this paper presents a nuanced view of how a French-speaking person in a minority situation looks and how he/she feels about his/her culture. While this project stems from my own, frustrated story of being misunderstood, it is not meant to be a negative story about cultural

loss or assimilation. On the contrary, my frustration stems from a deep desire to be understood by academics, politicians, school boards, and representatives of Francophone organisations. I hope to give a voice to ordinary people who go about their bilingual lives without thinking about larger political ramifications. People who speak French when they want and/or need to and then speak English when they want and/or need to. I hope to expose the roots of this particular cultural group and its individuals in order to show that one need not have the Franco-Ontarian flag or a green-and-white fleur de lyse tattooed on their body or stickered on their car bumper to be proud of their French identity. Similarly, speaking Franglais does not mean that that person does not value the language. Pride and cultural adherence are complex, multifaceted issues and the 60 residents of Astorville I have interviewed work with me, through their voices, their recipes, and their narratives to tell a story that may well apply to other French-speaking communities in Ontario and other parts of Canada.

It has not been easy to find a balance between first person narrative and academic discussion. Given that this is a PhD dissertation, there is an expectation to provide serious analysis through a neutral, third-person voice. Yet autoethnography is a method that depends on putting the researcher front and centre. It requires a certain amount of vulnerability and, given the fact that I have interviewed a number of friends and family members, being honest and transparent means possibly, if unintendedly, hurting or offending people I care about. I have tried to balance these seemingly opposing positions by dividing my chapters into two sections. One part presents the facts I have gathered in as neutral a voice as possible. The other part is the more autoethnographic piece where I reflect on the information I have presented in the chapter and where I more consciously juxtapose my own beliefs with my participants' voices.

Drawing on historical evidence, Chapter 2 explains the arrival and development of French-speaking people in Ontario. This chapter looks at how the French-speaking residents of Astorville and the Franco-Ontarian experience in northeastern Ontario reflect the issues of

minority populations elsewhere in Canada, including Quebec. This chapter looks at what happens to culture and identity in a minority setting. It questions official data like census reports to suggest they are not an adequate representation of the more complicated reality of cultural transmission and allegiance.

Chapter 3 looks at the acts of cultural celebration, memory, and resistance that are tied to cultural practices around food. Traditional foods are those that are special. They are often only made and consumed at specific times of the year or on special occasions. They often involve more work or are more expensive. Yet traditions are also present in a more "everyday" context even if they are imbued with a different set of expectations, memories, and values. In Astorville, many of the major holidays are associated with the Roman Catholic celebrations of Easter and Christmas. However, being a rural community with agricultural roots, many traditional foods are also linked to the harvest and hunting seasons. When one decides to be part of a ritual, practice an activity, or participate in a celebration, one is accepting, or at least tolerating, particular roles and ideas. This chapter will look at these cultural practices to show which cultural celebrations have continued and how they have evolved.

Objects, like humans, have a past. They are created with a purpose. Over time, however, that purpose may change given new circumstances and realities. As society evolves, the ingredients used to make traditional foods change as well. Chapter 4 therefore looks at the relationship these cultural acts have to the materiality of food ingredients, food production, and food practices. Building on the evidence and discussion presented in previous chapters, it considers the material implications associated with transmitting culture.

Finally, Chapter 5 considers how food studies and gender intersect. Women are usually assumed to be the main food makers in a home and so studies of foodways tend to be dominated by female voices. This paper challenges this assumption by including an almost

equal representation of male participants. Understanding who makes traditional foods and why they make it is important. Understanding how attitudes toward domestic labour in and around the house is passed on to the next generation is key to seeing how traditions are transmitted, who they are transmitted to, and how those messages are perceived by members of the next generation.

Chapter 1: Building A Toolbox: Justifying an Interdisciplinary Approach by Blending Relevant Disciplines

Today, people travel the world to experience other cultures. We pay money to go to cultural festivals. We buy recipe books or go out to eat exotic or different food. Sometimes, we even adopt some of these practices ourselves. There is no denying that food connects individuals. When people eat together, they share not only a table but, through conversation, they also share stories and personal experiences. Eating special foods, like tourtière, is but one way that individuals identify themselves with their culture and their heritage. Repeated exposure to certain foods creates within individuals a food-language, a repertoire and internalisation of what constitutes as good food. Indeed, anthropologists and linguists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Mary Douglas, and Roland Barthes have demonstrated that food can come to represent a system of signs that signify; they communicate ideas and values.[2]

[2] Claude Lévi-Strauss "The Culinary Triangle," *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997), 36-41; Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997), 44-53; and Roland Barthes, "Toward a Psychology of Contemporary Food Consumption," *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997), 28-35. The study of food as a language has in fact been instrumental in developing the field of food studies. Claude-Lévi Strauss' concept of the culinary triangle between raw, rotten, and cooked has been fundamental in showing that language can function as an organising force. For Lévi-Strauss, cooking "'is with language a truly universal form of human activity: if there is no society without language, nor is there any which does not cook in some manner at least some of its food" Quoted in Kathy Neustadt, *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), 140. Mary Douglas' study of taboo foods has shown the way rules about Kosher foods delimit good and bad foods thus creating strict boundaries within which a group must remain if they are to be part of the group. In "Deciphering a Meal," she shows how meals are themselves a structure that organise our lives and our expectations in everyday meals and those prepared for special occasions. In her work, Douglas shows that meals constitute just such a language or system. The relationship between different types of meals, the mundane and the special, mark important differences that give each meal a different significance. Roland Barthes' work in the semiotics of food is crucial in building an argument that food comes to mean certain truths to those individuals who share the same ideas and values. Making and consuming food, Barthes argues, "are acts of signification through which people construct and sustain their identities." Quoted in Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, "Introduction," *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, Edited by Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato (Albany, University of New York Press, 2008), 1.

Almost all academic disciplines and fields of study have, at some point, seen their scholars turn to food. That is because food is a human requirement. Without nutrients, our bodies would die. But, perhaps more importantly, food is inextricably linked to who we are. The well-known adage "you are what you eat" coined by Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin in "On Taste" cannot be disputed. We eat what tastes good to us. We eat what we are served in specific places by specific people. We eat what we can afford. We aspire to eat the foods we cannot. We crave certain foods to satisfy personal needs. In their introduction to *Acquired Tastes: Why Families Eat the Way They Do*, the authors explain that "[f]oods carry differing meanings and associations for people in different social contexts… These meanings are often place-specific, learned through locally available social discourses that constitute some foods as 'good' or 'bad,' 'healthy' or 'unhealthy,' 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' for members of specific social groups."[3]

Yet "food languages," like actual languages, vary with time. As individuals interact with others who have similar food habits, they validate their practices. When individuals come into contact with other food habits, especially when individuals are immersed within other groups or must negotiate food habits within a shared space, individuals adapt their ways. They might adopt new meals and they might stop making some of the foods they previously considered important, satisfying, or special. It is therefore "not enough," Kathy Neustadt argues, "to focus on food as a symbol and code without recognizing that food also involves a myriad of practical, technical, historical, and personal issues."[4] The problem with focusing on food as merely a structure or a language, she continues, is that when food "is taken to be a language, its 'grammar' is preeminent; its tangible, physical, and sensory qualities are brushed aside. There are no cooks, no eating, no occasion: there are only structures, forms, and systems of signs.

[3] Brenda L. Beagan, Gwen E. Chapman, Josée Johnston, Deborah McPhail, Elaine M. Power, and Helen Vallianatos, *Acquired Tastes: Why Families Eat What They Do* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015), 9.
[4] Kathy Neustadt, *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), 140.

Continuity, unlike metaphor, implies contiguity, tangible connections, even physical contact, and it directs the analytical focus inward, rather than outward."[5] Neustadt's *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition*, David Sutton's *Remembrance of Repast: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, and Diane Tye's *Baking as Biography:* are good examples of studies that move beyond a structuralist interpretation of food. Their works include an analysis of how food structures social behaviour *and* how food is used to affirm one's beliefs and values to one's self and to others.[6]

The study of food habits, especially of traditional food habits, is an important element in the study of a minority culture and group because food is one way individuals express their cultural selves. Making culturally specific food raises questions such as: What defines a cultural group? What criteria can be used to measure and recognise membership? Does regularly eating fajitas make a person Mexican? Does putting maple syrup on pancakes make one Canadian? And, in a similar way, does speaking a language not only make one part of a linguistic group, i.e. a *French-speaking* Canadian, but also a member of the cultural group, i.e. a *French*-Canadian or a *Franco*-Ontarian? What does it mean to be Franco-Ontarian? What is the difference between Franco-Ontarian and French-Canadian? Does it include all French speakers in the province of Ontario? In Canada? Who are these people? What do they look like and how does one recognise them? Why do my daughters call themselves Franco-Ontarian while I call myself French-Canadian? My thesis research asks the question "What is the connection between French-Canadian traditional food and cultural retention? How do evolution and adaptation of foodways threaten or facilitate cultural preservation?" There are several key terms in these two questions that must be unpacked to properly situate this paper.

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[5] Neustadt, *Clambake*, 159

[6] Neustadt, *Clambake*; and Diane Tye, *Baking as Biography: A Life Story in Recipes (*Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010). Indeed, David Sutton is critical of Douglas' work arguing that while a meal's ability to recall other meals is an important advancement in foodways research, missing her work is a "remembering subject" who is doing the remembering and who is making the connection between self and other. See David Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) and Kathy Neustadt, *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), 9.

Key Terms

a) Culture

Dictionary definitions are helpful for defining the word **culture** and a comparison of three different definitions shows that the word culture has both public and private connotations. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, culture is defined as "the ideas, customs, and social behavior of a particular people or society."[7] Here we see that culture is manifested publicly and that it can be observed by others. The *Cambridge Dictionary* echoes this public view of culture by defining it as "the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time."[8] In both these definitions, culture depends on others since people need to act similarly and be recognised by others in order to be considered part of a cultural group.

The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* complicates the definition of culture by stating that it is "the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group; also: the characteristic features of everyday existence (as diversions or a way of life) shared by a people in a place or time; the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterizes an institution or organization; the set of values, conventions, or social practices associated with a particular field, activity, or societal characteristic."[9] This definition adds a personal, private element to the definition of culture. Culture is not just experienced with others or in public rituals and celebrations but also in everyday, individual choices.

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[7] "culture, n." *English Oxford Living Dictionaries* accessed 11 May 2017. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/culture

[8] "culture, n." *Cambridge Dictionary* accessed 11 May 2017. http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/culture

[9] "culture, n." *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* accessed 11 May 2017. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture

The term *cultural studies* refers "to the study of the entire range of a society's arts, beliefs, institutions, and communicative practices."[10] To study culture means to look at both "symbolic *and* material domains" which "involves not privileging one domain over the other but interrogating the relation between the two."[11] In cultural studies, "culture is understood *both* as a way of life… and a whole range of cultural practices."[12] From these definitions of culture and cultural studies, we can gather that "culture" refers to what people learn, either consciously or unconsciously, from their observations and experiences in the world. As people interact with each other, they not only establish meaning and cultural norms but also dominant discourses, ways of speaking about their culture and themselves, that shape practices and attitudes.

Culture, these definitions make clear, necessarily implies other people. It cannot rest solely within the self. To study culture is often to study the public, "observable differences in custom, social structure, language, religion, art, and other material and nonmaterial characteristics."[13] This view of culture as being a system outside the individual, a system of signs and symbols, has been used by foodways scholars such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Margaret Douglas, Roland Barthes, and Pierre Bourdieu, to show that the "culture has a life of its own, dictating, regulating, and controlling people to maintain inner-group 'homogeneity.'"[14] To be validated, culture must be seen and interpreted by others.

Yet, culture also exists within an individual. In *Autoethnography as Method,* Heewon Chang acknowledges that membership in a cultural group is complicated because individuals must constantly negotiate their public and private selves. Her "work-in-progress" definition for culture identifies seven key elements that help show how culture depends on both the self and others. Firstly, "[i]ndividuals are

[10] Cary Nelson, Paula A. Treichler, and Lawrence Grossberg, "Cultural Studies: An Introduction," *Cultural Studies*, Edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992), 4.
[11] Nelson, Treichler, and Grossberg, "Cultural Studies," 5.
[12] Nelson, Treichler, and Grossberg, "Cultural Studies," 5.
[13] Heewon Chang, *Autoethnography as Method* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2008), 18.
[14] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 19.

cultural agents, but culture is not at all about individuality." Secondly, "[i]ndividuals are not prisoners of culture." Thirdly, "[d]espite inner-group diversity, a certain level of sharedness, common understanding, and/or repeated interactions is needed to bind people together as a group." Fourthly, "[i]ndividuals can become members of multiple social organizations concurrently." Fifthly, "[e]ach membership contributes to the cultural makeup of individuals with varying degrees of influence." Sixthly, "[i]ndividuals can discard a membership of a cultural group with or without 'shedding' their cultural traits." Finally, "[w]ithout securing official memberships in certain cultural groups, obvious traits of membership, or members' approvals, outsiders can acquire cultural traits and claim cultural affiliations with other cultural groups."[15]

Through these seven points, Chang helps us see that while there is no doubt that there are signs and symbols that, through their repetition and choice, signal a similarity between individuals, culture is not static. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* – "the internalized social and cultural influences that shape people's everyday behaviour" explains why norms exist but, Cary Nelson, Paula Treichler and Lawrence Grossberg remind us in their "Preface" to *Cultural Studies*, and as Diane Tye in *Baking as Biography* and Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato echo in their "Introduction" to *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, scholars need to be critical of these norms and established customs.[16] The fact that individuals choose to use these symbols to identify themselves and to tie themselves to others is determined by their personal desire to either conform to, or transgress, social norms. Their decisions stem from their personal experiences.

b) Identity:

[15] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 21-23.
[16] Cary Nelson, Paula A. Treichler, and Lawrence Grossberg, "Cultural Studies: An Introduction," *Cultural Studies*, Edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992); Tye, *Baking as Biography*; and Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, "Introduction," (Albany, SUNY, 2008), 1-11.

The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines **identity** as "the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is…; the distinguishing character or personality of an individual."[17] The *Cambridge Dictionary* defines it as the "qualities of a person or group that make them different from others."[18] The *Collins Dictionary* defines it as "the individual characteristics by which a person or thing is recognized."[19]

In other words, identity denotes a conscious and subjective affiliation. Individuals who perform similar cultural practices identify with each other. United in this shared identity, they form a cultural group. When studying a culture's foodways, one must understand "the conditions in which the consumers of cultural goods, and their taste for them, are produced, and at the same time to describe the different ways of appropriating such of these objects as are regarded at a particular moment as works of art, and the social conditions of the constitution of the appropriation that is considered legitimate."[20] This is because, as Barthes argues, when individuals buy, consumer, or serve cultural goods, like culturally representative foods, they "construct and sustain their identities. At the same time, these acts – and the broad range of cultural representations that support and are supported by them – also serve as vehicles through which ideological expectations about those identities are circulated, enforced, and transgressed."[21]

Identity, according to David Sutton in *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, "is not composed of a fixed set of memories but lies in the dialectical, ceaseless activity of remembering and forgetting, assimilating and discarding."[22] It is in the act of remembrance that

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[17] "identity, n." *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* accessed 11 May 2017. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity
[18] "identity, n." *Cambridge Dictionary* accessed 11 May 2017. http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/identity
[19] "identity, n." *Collins English Dictionary* accessed 11 May 2017. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/identity
[20] Pierre Bourdieu, "Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity," *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink,* Edited by Carolyn Korsmeyer (Berg: Oxford, 2007), 72.
[21] LeBesco and Naccarato, "Introduction," 1.
[22] Sutton 9.

individuals affirm their cultural selves. It is not just in talking about the past but in actually repeating and recreating those activities in the present, that people prove to themselves and to others who they are and what they care about.

c) Dominant discourses and master narratives:

Discourse is not just the use of spoken or written language in a social context but also a "system of representation."[23] What we say and what we do is our way of communicating our understanding of a specific topic given our historical circumstances. Discourse combines language and meaning to create a specific way of thinking about the world in which we live. Our actions are a product of our understanding of our possibilities and these possibilities have been shaped by the way we speak about them. These ways of thinking are what scholars refer to as **dominant discourses** or **master narratives**.[24]

Discourse, of course, is not static. Rather, like culture and identity, it evolves over time due to changing circumstances and exposure to different ideas. Thus while dominant discourses or master narratives "derive from tradition, and they typically constrain narratives of personal experience, because they hold the narrator to culturally given standards, to taken-for-granted notions of what is good and what is wrong[,]"[25] people are free to rewrite the dominant script by sharing experiences that oppose these accepted ways of thinking and behaving. Autoethnography, as will be discussed in section 1.2, is an especially relevant methodology for pushing back at master narratives because it privileges voices that are usually drowned out by the more prominent dominant discourse.

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[23] Stuart Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," *Discourse, Theory and Practice: A Reader*, Edited by Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 72.
[24] See Tessa Muncey, *Creating Autoethnographies* (London: Sage Publications, 2010); Carolyn Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004); and Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*. Like Muncey and Ellis, this dissertation uses these two terms interchangeably.
[25] Tessa Muncey, *Creating Autoethnographies*, 31.

In this discussion of key terms, I would like to introduce the dominant discourses that will be investigated over the course of this paper. This is but a brief introduction to the larger discussions that will follow over the course of the paper. Firstly, this paper aims to push back at master narratives that govern the choices my participants and I make when it comes to speaking French and/or English. As Chapter 2 will elaborate in far more detail, the decision to speak French rather than English or English rather than French in a given place or at a specific time is often dictated by who is present. Specifically, when an Anglophone person enters a room where, hitherto, everyone had been speaking French, the conversation will almost always automatically shift to English to accommodate that one individual. This behaviour, on one hand, is based on a discourse that my participants have identified as a sign of respect to the person who does not understand the French language. On the other hand, this behaviour stems from a historical inequality that has existed between French and English since Canada's early colonial era. Not only have French speakers long needed to learn English to find gainful employment, but assimilationist policies of the early 1900s publicly sought to eradicate French from the province of Ontario and other parts of the country. Given the legacy of being reprimanded for speaking French in public places, and since the workforce is still predominantly Anglophone, this "proper" way of behaving has been internalised by many of my participants and myself.

In contrast to this pressure that exists from an Anglophone centre is also a discourse that stems from French-language places such as families, scholarly research, census reports, and schools that tell French-speakers that the French language is destined to disappear in Canada if individuals do not commit themselves to a French cause. As Chapter 2 will also discuss, a narrative prevalent in my life and in the lives of my participants is that exposure to English will lead to assimilation. While bilingualism is considered by many to be an asset, there is a belief that failure to master French causes a dilution of the French language that ultimately causes individuals to privilege English over French. The growing number of mixed language homes, having more and more English-speaking students in French-language school,

and lack of French-language programming in which to immerse oneself have often been blamed for the lower numbers of French-as-mother tongue speakers. These ways of speaking of the French-language have also been internalised by many of my participants. This discourse will also be investigated in Chapter 2. The pressure to speak a certain way, for certain people, in certain situations has had a tremendous impact on the ways in which my participants and I identify with the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture. Chapter 2 will therefore focus on the linguistic aspect of culture and identity and will be a starting point for the discussion and investigation of assimilation and/or resistance related to the group's foodways that follows in the subsequent chapters.

Another dominant discourse that permeates the study of food is that women are often the ones most responsible for passing on traditions to the next generation. Cookbooks, television programs, and scholarly research, Chapter 5 will demonstrate, have often presented women as the ones who cook everyday meals and who keep a household running while men are the ones who make a career of cooking outside the home. Indeed, as Chapter 5 will demonstrate, these gendered assumptions about food and culture do exist and do still often dictate the behaviour in many homes. However, this dominant discourse is not absolute. As the chapter will also demonstrate, men are, and have long been, very present in the making, sharing, and serving of traditional foods.

d) Foodways

The word **foodways** is defined as "the eating habits and culinary practices of a people, region, or historical period."[26] In *Baking as Biography*, Tye provides a detailed chronology of scholarship related to the study of foodways. Until the 1970s, she shows, scholars, mostly anthropologists, were primarily focused on the food of primitive or ancient cultures. She quotes W.K. McNeil who wrote that "foodways

[26] "foodways, n." *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* accessed 9 December 2013. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/foodways.

scholarship, then, was basically an exercise in cultural archaeology, and those who studied the topic were essentially dealing with survival."[27] In 1971, however, Jay Anderson recommended "that foodway research adopt a 'conceptual model,' by which he meant it should consider 'the whole interrelated *system* of food conceptualization and evaluation, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation, consumption, and nutrition shared by all the members of a particular group."[28] In 1972, Don Yoder argued that scholars interested in the folk culture of America should look at its food and promoted two specific directions: "regional variation in domestic cookery" and "a comparative study of American and European folk patterns of cookery."[29] By the late 1970s, Charles Camp "encouraged folklorists to investigate food traditions by emphasizing events rather than the food itself."[30] Since the 1980s, studying the cultural significance of food has been more and more common in various disciplines and fields of study.

Foodways are a perfect example of how cultural identity is both inside and outside the self. As much as foodways can "be interpreted as mirroring broader social, cultural, economic and political changes[…, they] can also be manufactured."[31] As Beagan, Chapman et al. advance in *Acquiring Tastes: Why Families Eat the Way They Do*, "[i]ndividuals make decisions in the context of their social situation, their family and community, their cultural environment, and their local food milieu… Food may be about physical sustenance, but it also has profound symbolic resonance, signifying one's class status, masculinity or femininity, family cohesion, caring, community, independence from parental authority, and resistance to cultural assimilation."[32] Thus, though culture depends on similar understandings of

[27] Tye, *Baking as Biography*, 19.
[28] Tye, *Baking as Biography*, 19.
[29] Tye, *Baking as Biography*, 19.
[30] Tye, *Baking as Biography*, 19.
[31] Frances Short, *Kitchen Secrets: The Meaning of Cooking in Everyday Life* (New York: Berg, 2006), 18.
[32] Beagan et al., *Acquired Tastes*, 8.

signs and symbols, not all individuals interpret them in exactly the same way. Moreover, individuals need not conform to societal norms at all.

Through this study of the traditional foodways of Francophones in Astorville, this project considers the ways in which food both structures, or defines, the group and the particular ways individuals see these foods as being personally and culturally meaningful. Studying the shared, traditional foodways of this group will allow me to better understand how the group "self-defines, how [it] interact[s] with and [is] modified by other subcultures, and how [it] creatively shape[s] [its] ethnicity."[33] As this study is interested in understanding the evolution of this particular group, it is focused on the history of Astorville since its foundation in the 1880s. Many of the meals and desserts my participants consider to be "traditional, French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian," are foods that have a long history and are part of the fabric of the community. Chapters 3 and 4 will look specifically at the history of many recipes and ingredients to show just how rooted my participants' foodways are in their French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian heritage. As some of my participants come from mixed ethnic and language homes, traditional foods from other cultures will be used in Chapters 3 and 4 as a means of understanding cultural evolution.

e) Tradition and Traditional Food

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, **tradition** is defined as "a long established and generally accepted custom or method... [something] handed down... from generation to generation."[34] **Traditional foods** are "foods that have been consumed locally or regionally for many generations. The methods of preparation of these local specialties have been passed down from generation to generation

[33] Tye, *Baking as Biography*, 21.
[34] "tradition, n." OED Online. March 2011. *Oxford University Press* accessed 6 May 2011. http://0-www.oed.com.aupac.lib.athabascau.ca/view/Entry/204302?rskey=fMidxA&result=1&isAdvanced=false

and have become part of the fabric of life... In some cases, they are not formally documented recipes, but are… always [associated] with local history."[35]

Inherent in the concept of tradition is an element of continuity. Tradition, "according to current theoretical discourse, requires a choice, requires willful participation, no matter how automatic and inviolable the 'same as last year' makes continuance appear. Traditions are self-maintaining only as long as the group values age and interprets survival as positive, as worthy of respect: perpetuation has to be recognized, allowed, and encouraged."[36] A tradition necessitates, on one hand, memory – recollection of past events that are stored in the brain. Scholars who study food and foodways see in food a place where personal and group memories are stored. This is because the brain connects the smells and tastes of specific foods to particular places, people, and emotions.[37] Nostalgic memories of certain foods, a longing for food of an earlier time, may motivate individuals to make those foods themselves – to continue a tradition they believe to be important and meaningful. These foods are associated with stories that have been repeated "over time and by theme, [that] communicating deep emotions about a past perceived to be rich and rewarding."[38]

As this dissertation will demonstrate, not all traditions are as old as others. Traditions evolve over time and new situations or circumstances necessitate either changing a tradition or creating new ones altogether. Traditions rarely stay static. For example, in her study of the Allen's Neck clambake,

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[35] This definition comes from the Directorate-General for Research's publication on traditional foods for the European Commission "*European Research on Traditional Foods*" (Belgium: European Communities, 2007). The report warns that "[t]raditional food can mean a million different things to a million individuals. Obtaining agreement on a definition that fully encompasses the variety of products is not an easy task," 6.
[36] Neustadt, *Clambake*, 162.
[37] Beagan et al. *Acquired Taste*; Vincent Agro, *In Grace's Kitchen: Memoires and Recipes from an Italian-Canadian Childhood* (Hamilton: Poplar Press, 2014); Tye, *Baking as Biography*; Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*; and Stacey Zembryzck's male participants similarly recall their mother's work in the kitchen though they were not necessarily actively involved. See Stacey Zembryzcki, "'There Were Always Men in Our House': Gender and the Childhood Memories of Working-Class Ukrainians in Depression-Era Canada," *Labour/Le Travail* 60 (Fall 2007), 77-105.
[38] Neustadt, *Clambake*, 178.

Neustadt shows that the yearly ritual is an example of an "invented tradition." By that she means "a revered folk customs and ritual complexes that appear to be based on older social order but that are, in fact, constructed and reconstructed by different groups and generations in such a way as to legitimate existent institutions and values – particularly relating to national and political identity."[39] What is "real," in other words historically factual, and what is "invented", in other words what has been added or altered, is part of understanding what makes a tradition a tradition. Memory and the act of remembering are therefore important in foodways research. Indeed, Marina de Camargo Heck argues that "culinary traditions and food memories define us, offering solidarity with and a sense of distance from our familial, social and ethnic groups… in keeping and adapting familiar recipes, we are able to create practices that, even as they recall the past, initiate new traditions, new identities, new selves."[40]

Memory in terms of foodways research is also related to breaking down the dichotomy between theory and practice. As Lisa Heldke argues in "Foodmaking as Thoughtful Practice," foodmaking does not "draw[] us to mark a sharp distinction between mental and manual labor, or between theoretical and practical work."[41] She begins her chapter by highlighting the traditional theory/practice hierarchy in scholarly research where "'knowing' retains separation between inquirer and inquired, while 'doing' breaches this separation; and [where] 'knowing' aims at producing timeless truths about unchanging realities, whereas 'doing' is concerned with the transitory, the perishable, the changeable."[42] Her examples of both kneading bread and making a cake demonstrate the extent to which foodmaking necessitates both theory, a recipe and understanding of how the final product should look and taste, and practice, the ability to actually follow the various steps and to troubleshoot issues as they arise. This

[39] Neustadt, *Clambake*, 16. Neustadt takes the term from Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. See *The Invention of Tradition* Edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[40] Marina de Camargo Heck, "Adopting and Adapting: The Migrating Recipe," *The Recipe Reader*, Edited by Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 217.
[41] Lisa Heldke, "Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice," *Cooking, eating, thinking: transformative philosophies of food*, Edited by Deane W. Curtin and Lisa M. Heldke (United States: Indiana University Press, 1992), 204.
[42] Heldke, "Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice," 204.

combination of "knowing" and "doing" is inherent in foodmaking which she sees as example of a "thoughtful practice."

In the context of this dissertation, the word "tradition" and the concept of "traditional foods" has proven difficult to define. On one hand, as will be seen in Chapter 3, some of my participants consider some traditional foods to reside very much in their rural, agricultural past because they consider them too different from what is privileged today. On another hand, some foods are considered traditional because they are associated with an ethnic culture that is neither French-Canadian nor British in origin. Food as "other" or "different," we will see in, can either add or detract from its value. When individuals give up traditions because they no longer have a place in their lives, the memories of these foods may live on for some time but they will not mean the same thing and they will no longer be a means through which individuals will express their cultural selves. When individuals give up traditions they can sometimes be seen as being assimilated.

In her study of community cookbooks, Anne Bower has identified two types of narratives (or plots) that relate to this study and to food's ability to either resist or embrace assimilation. In cookbooks that promote a *differentiation plot*, authors define "themselves in some way different from other women… the difference they stress may be professional, ethnic, religious, or geographic… women using this plot give equal weight to their membership within a special 'different' subgroup and their assimilation into the wider society."[43] In an *integration plot*, contributors present "a communal autobiography of social acceptance and achievement… propos[ing] a story of the authors achieving assimilation and status through their acceptance of the larger society's conventions and standards.[44] The foods that will be

[43] Anne L. Bower, "Cooking Up Stories: Narrative Elements in Community Cookbooks," *Recipes for Reading Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 40.
[44] Bower, "Cooking Up Stories: Narrative Elements in Community Cookbooks," 38.

discussed in the context of this paper will touch on both these tendencies to show that bilingualism manifests itself through food as well as in language.

Finally, many of my participants use the word "tradition" to mean a habit or custom that is either related to a special occasion and/or related to everyday food choices. These are foods that people like to eat and that they look forward to. When I started this research project, I was specifically looking for foods related to special occasions. However, it has become very obvious that everyday food habits and habits related to special occasions are very closely related as they reinforce each other. The food chosen for a special occasion would not be a logical or good choice if it was not a reflection of a person's daily choices. In my MA paper, "Eating Up Tradition: An Autoethnographic Study of Evolving Traditional Food," I advanced a definition of traditional foods that has three tenets: "1) foods that are remembered from childhood but that cannot be, or are not easily, replicated today; 2) foods that we still make and look forward to though they may not be mainstream; and 3) foods that are [identified as being] culturally significant." [45] Rather than assuming that a tradition must still be practiced to be meaningful, the definition I propose purposely encompasses foods that are still being made as well as those that have been "lost." While some may argue that all food is in some way culturally meaningful, the foods that will be studied in this paper are those that participants will have identified as culturally significant with regards to the Francophone community. In other words, they are foods my participants use to create a personal association with French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture.

It is clear from these key terms that studying traditional foods raises many questions about culture: What is the history of not only the people making the food but of the food itself? What economic and societal pressures make the food a "good" or "bad" choice? What rituals are associated

[45] Emily Weiskopf-Ball, "Eating Up Tradition: An Autoethnographic Study of Evolving Traditional Food" MAIS diss., Athabasca University, 2015 http://dtpr.lib.athabascau.ca/action/viewdtrdesc.php?cpk=308&id=48757.

with the food and whose role is it to perform the actions that will get the food to the event? What ingredients are needed and how available are they? Are individuals proud of the food or do they seek to replace it? Are certain foods more public while others are more private? In comparison, how has linguistic ability and pride developed? Does the language become more or less prominent over time? Is there a correlation between foodways and language?

In the case of French-Canadians and Franco-Ontarians, scholars often focus on more public manifestations of culture and identity. Much has been written about French-Canadians. Various works have chronicled the arrival of the French in Canada and their history in Canada.[46] Others have focused on the political struggle for French-language schools and the right to public services in French.[47] Within this

[46] Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens français*. Montréal: Boréal, 1998; Gaétan Gervais, "L'histoire de l'Ontario français" *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada — L'état des lieux*, 145-161. Edited by J. Yvon Thériault. Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1999; Anne Gilbert, "L'Ontario français comme région: un regard non assimilationniste sur une minorité, son espace et ses réseaux" *Cahiers de géographie du Québec* vol. 35, no. 96 (1991): 501-512; Monica Heller "Du français comme 'droit' au français comme 'valeur ajoutée': de la politique à l'économique au Canada" *Langue et société* 136 (June) 2011: 13-30, Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4), 2003: 473-492, and "'Langue', 'communauté' et identité': le discours expert et la question du français au Canada," *Anthroplogie et Sociétés* 31, 1 (2007): 39-54; Danielle Juteau, "Français d'Amérique, Canadiens, Canadiens français, Franco-Ontariens, Ontarois : qui sommes-nous?" *L'ethnicité et ses frontières*, 39-60. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999; Marcel Martel, *Le deuil d'un pays imagine: Rêves, lutes et déroutes du Canada français: Les rapports entre le Québec et la francophonie canadienne (1867-1975)*. Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1997; Pierre Savard, "Relation avec le Québec" *Les Franco-Ontariens*, 231-263. Edited by Cornelius J. Jaenen. Ottawa: Les presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1993; Joseph Yvon Thériault, "Ethnolinguistic minorities and national integration in Canada" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 185 (2007): 255–263 and "Les francophonies minoritaires: entre le fait minoritaire et la dualité nationale" *Québec 2001*, 186-189. Edited by Roch Coté. Montréal: FIDES, 2000; Joseph Yvon Thériault, and E. Martin Meunier. "Que reste-t-il de l'intention vitale du Canada français?" accessed March 3, 2014. http://www.chaire-mcd.uqam.ca/upload/files/Publications/JYT/2008-Intention-vitale.pdf; David Welch, "La collectivité franco-ontarienne : une présence historique liée à son développement socioéconomique" *Francophonie d'Amérique* 20 (2005): 123-132 and "Les Franco-Ontariens: la résistance comme mode de vie" *Reflets : revue d'intervention sociale et communautaire* vol. 1, no. 1 (1995): 20-42.

[47] Roger Bernard, *De Québecois à Ontarois: La communauté francopho-ontarienne* (Hearst: Nordir, 1988); Joel Belliveau, "Cinq représentations savantes de la francophonie des Amériques – réflexions autour d'un ouvrage recent," *Minorités linguistiques et société / Linguistic Minorities and Society*, No. 3 (2013); Raymond Breton, "Modalités d'appartenance aux francophonies minoritaires. Essai de typologie," *Sociologie et sociétés* vol. 23, no. 1 (1994): 59-69; Linda Cardinal, et Jean Lapointe, "La sociologie des Francophones hors Québec : un parti-pris pour l'autonomie," *Canadian ethnic studies* vol. 22, no. 1 (1990): 47-66; Fernand Dumont, "Essor et déclin du Canada français" *Recherches sociographiques* vol. 38, no. 3, (1997): 419-467; Diane Farmer, *Artisans de la modernité. Les centres culturels de l'Ontario français*. Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1996; Diane Farmer, et Jeff Poirier. "La société et les réalités francophones en Ontario" *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada — L'état des lieux*, 265-281. Edited by J. Yvon Thériault. Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1999.

large body of work, many have concentrated on the assimilation that French-Canadians have suffered at the hands of the dominant, English culture. Consequently, the historiography is overwhelmingly political and primarily concerned with identifying public struggles to maintain Francophone rights and freedoms. It also tends to come across as a "French versus English" dichotomy. These struggles are important to understand yet, such a focus ultimately silences those who are not overtly political as well as the voices of individuals who are proud to be bilingual. It does not, in other words, represent the average French-speaking Canadian because it does not paint a real picture of his/her daily decisions and realities. My dissertation places emphasis on the private struggles and negotiations individuals live through as they try to maintain their cultural identity.

When studying the people who are making the food, one must consider, on one hand, the public ways in which the group expresses itself but one must also consider the private, and more personal ways that individuals tie themselves to each other. Despite the very real linguistic and geographic issues facing French-Canadians in minority settings, it is important to avoid narrowly studying this group from an assimilation perspective. Rather, it is far more productive to pay attention to the positive forms of expression that are currently being made by individuals within this group. This project seeks to move beyond language as the only characteristic that defines a person as either French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian. This project proposes that while language is a significant part of this group's cultural identity, in the end, it is but one cultural reference. If we are to truly understand what defines a French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian in this particular community, one must draw parallels between language and other cultural reference points. Since "food links body and soul, self and other, the personal and the political, the material and the symbolic"[48] looking not only at the food that is prepared and consumed by French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians today, but also studying the evolution of these foods and food-related

[48] Carole Counihan, and Penny Van Esterik. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2.

practices allows one to better understand how these individuals position themselves within their predominantly Anglophone community.

Interdisciplinarity

While one could do a very good study of a specific food using the perspective of a single discipline, approaching this question from various angles allows one to better understand how individuals use food to identify themselves and to connect with others. Consequently, this is an interdisciplinary project. Interdisciplinarity is defined as "a process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline… and draws on disciplinary perspectives and integrates their insights through constructing a more comprehensive perspective."[49] Within disciplines, "[t]he strong incentive to obey disciplinary preferences regarding theory, method, and subject matter means that disciplinarians *necessarily* ignore competing theories or methods, and they also ignore related phenomena that might cast an important light on the issues addressed by the disciplines."[50] Interdisciplinary scholars, on the other hand, understand that "[c]omplex systems are… spontaneous,… disorderly,… alive"[51] and that no one discipline can fully answer a complex problem. Thus, through the process of *integration*, interdisciplinary projects tackle complex problems that cannot fully be solved from one view alone and, by bringing together various disciplinary perspectives, produces new knowledge.[52]

Complicating this research project is the fact that many of the "disciplinary" perspectives I am using are themselves already interdisciplinary in nature. Cultural studies, food studies, gender studies,

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[49] Julie T. Klein and W. Newell, "Advancing Interdisciplinary Studies," *Interdisciplinarity: Essays from the literature*, Edited by W. Newell (New York: College Board, 1998), 393-394.
[50] Rick Szostak, "The Interdisciplinary Research Process," *Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research*, Edited by Allen F. Repko, William H. Newell, and Rick Szostak (California: Sage, 2012), 4.
[51] M. Mitchell Waldrop, *Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 12.
[52] Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory*, 2nd ed. (California: Sage, 2012), 15-16.

and material culture studies signal this fact in their titles. Autoethnography is also interdisciplinary as it combines ethnography and autobiography. According to Allen Repko, the word "studies" first referred to research about specific geographic regions or historical eras.[53] More recently, however, the word has come to connote research about cultural groups.[54] Unlike traditional disciplines, which have an established curriculum that teaches their core set of knowledge principles and that value specific ways of studying a problem, "studies" acknowledge that there is more to solving a complex problem than a traditional discipline can offer. "Studies" claim to narrow gaps between disciplines and do so by juxtaposing disciplines in a research project. In this way, "[s]tudies programs in general represent fundamental challenges to the existing structure of knowledge [and] share with interdisciplinary studies… a broad dissatisfaction with traditional knowledge structures."[55] Thus within its inherent desire to build on the existing traditions, "studies" are also rebelliously trying to break down the foundation of existing academic silos.[56]

A key aspect in the process of integration is finding common ground between disciplines. In Stuart Henry and Nicole L. Bracy's "Understanding Human Action: Integrating Meanings, Mechanisms, Causes, and Contexts," the authors synthesise from a number of interdisciplinary methodological works to suggest that relationships between disciplines can "be envisioned: [as] (1) end-to-end or sequential integration, which implies a sequential causal order; (2) side-by-side or horizontal integration, which

[53] Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research*, 8.
[54] Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research*, 8.
[55] Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research*, 9.
[56] Klein, Repko, and Salter and Hearn remind us that even if studies share with interdisciplinarity the need to bring disciplines together, they are not automatically interdisciplinary. Rather, in their borrowing of styles and trends, there is often much of the old in the new. Often missing in studies is a true *integration* of disciplines leaving the work produced synonymous with multidisciplinarity rather than interdisciplinarity or transdisciplinarity. See Julie Thompson Klein, *Humanities, Culture, and Interdisciplinarity: The Changing American Academy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 55; Julie Thompson Klein, "A taxonomy of interdisciplinarity," *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity*, Edited by Robert Frodeman, Julie Thompson Klein, and Carl Mitcham (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), 10; Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory*, 2nd ed. (California: Sage, 2012), 9; Liora Salter and Alison Hearn, "Interdisciplinarity," *Outside the Lines: Issues in Interdisciplinary Research* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1996), 27.

implies overlapping influences; or (3) up-and-down or vertical integration, which 'refers to identifying a level of abstraction or generality that encompasses much of the conceptualization of the constituent theories' (Bernard & Snipes, 1996; Messner et al., 1989, p. 5)."[57] As interdisciplinarians move through the process of finding common ground, they use established disciplinary insights and methods to create a personal toolbox which allows them to build an answer to the complex problem being addressed. Not bound to any of the disciplines they are using, they are able to a find a "central point of unification. This search for unity and for integration, then, becomes the key principle of genuine research."[58] The studies used in this project share common assumptions which will be broken down in the following discussion of each field of study. Fundamentally, common ground can be established vertically in that historical influences create specific realities that impact those who live in a given period by governing their personal and political options; ideas of self, culture, and gender; and, ultimately, their choices. Objects are also subject to historical forces as necessity will create them, change the way they are used, or make them obsolete. Common ground can also be established horizontally in that individuals, despite being governed to a certain degree by their historical realities, will make sense of themselves and these lives independently and individually.

1.2 My Interdisciplinary Toolbox

Autoethnography

Individuals exist in a complex world that necessitates the ability to manoeuver through, and make sense of, myriad situations in various contexts. How one reacts to a given situation is largely based on one's background; and biographers attempt, through their research, to make sense of these reactions. Autobiographies, which focus on key moments and situations, are one way that individuals,

[57] Stuart Henry and Nicole L. Bracy, "Integrative Theory in Criminology Applied to the Complex Social Problem of School Violence," *Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research*, Edited by Allen F. Repko, William H. Newell, Rick Szostak (California: Sage, 2012), 266.
[58] Salter and Hearn, "Interdisciplinarity," 35.

retrospectively, order and present a coherent picture in their lives.[59] In some ways, autoethnography is like autobiography. Both are self-narratives written by the individual who has not only lived a particular life experience but whose life is also a product of one's cultural-historical possibilities. However, drawing on ethnographic traditions, autoethnographic studies are also interested in studying a group or culture's beliefs and values and using specific and important historical moments to explain the group's views. Both autobiography and autoethnography tell a story and use literary techniques to enhance the story and draw the reader in. While autobiography may use dialogue and shifting narrative perspectives to tell this story, ethnography uses field notes, observations, and interviews to produce a "thick description" which ultimately describes those both inside and outside the group.[60]

Autoethnographers push back at accepted master narratives or dominant discourses that have come to govern our lives and dictate our behaviour. Through "'systematic sociological introspection'… and 'emotional recall,'"[61] these scholars challenge the status quo. They accept that there is no absolute truth. Rather, they "realize[] that stories [are] complex, constitutive, meaningful phenomena that [teach] morals and ethics, introduce[] unique ways of thinking and feeling, and help[] people make sense of themselves and others."[62] By comparing and contrasting narrative perspectives and providing alternative experiences, autoethnography offers a voice to previously silenced individuals who have not been recognised as authoritative or legitimate. Because it is interested in presenting "multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural,"[63] minority groups and women, for example,

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[59] Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner, "Autoethnography: An Overview," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research/Sozialforshung* 12 (1) January 2011. http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1589/3095 and Heewon Chang, *Autoethnography as Method* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2008), 35.
[60] Ellis and Bochner, "Autoethnography: An Overview."
[61] Carolyn Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004), xvii.
[62] Ellis and Bochner, "Autoethnography: An Overview."
[63] Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner "Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject" *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Newbury Park: Sage, 2000), 739.

have found in autoethnography an opportunity to contribute a more nuanced view of the world in order to present an understanding that defies established norms and practices. Importantly, autoethnography is not a narcissistic and self-indulgent monologue. Rather, it is "a self narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts."[64] It is "an ethnography that includes the researcher's vulnerable self, emotions, body and spirit and produces evocative stories that create the effect of reality and seeks fusion between social science and literature. It also questions the notion of a coherent, individual self."[65]

Reflection and layering, which are central to good autoethnography, are valuable ways to answer this project's complex and multifaceted question. Understanding how food is linked to culture and identity is far from simple and no two people will see this issue in the same way. By layering their voices and using my own personal reflections as a member of this community, I hope to provide scholars in various fields a more nuanced view of culture in general, but of Franco-Ontarians and French Canadians in particular.[66]

Given that this topic is very personal and that questions about language, memory, and religion have proven to be sensitive to my participants, the narrative and creative potential of autoethnography provides an advantage for me as it allows me to incorporate the views of those who have not wanted to speak to me on the record about their experiences and beliefs. Indeed, speaking "off the record" is a very real, ethical concern for researchers and the contributions to *Oral History Off the Record: Toward an Ethnography of Practice* highlight the dilemma many researchers face when their participants provide

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[64] Tami Spry, "Performing Autoethnography: An Embodied Methodological Praxis" *Qualitative Inquiry* 7, no. 6 (2001), 710.
[65] Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social* (Oxford, Berg, 1997), quoted in Muncey, *Creating Autoethnographies*, 30.
[66] I have been reflecting on this issue for many years now. It was the focus of my final project for my MA in Integrated Studies and has been the subject of the papers I have published and presented since beginning my PhD in 2013. I have been journaling on this topic and have been collecting and experimenting with traditional recipes for as many years.

very valuable information once the tape recorder has been turned off or who refuse to participate at all because they do not want to make their views public.[67] In this paper, the off-the-record views and voices are integrated into characters I have created in the reflection pieces that accompany each chapter.[68] I believe that the narrative characteristic inherent in the layering and reflective process of autoethnography makes this a very valuable method in such a sensitive project.

My interviews took one of three different forms. Participants were primarily invited to participate in a semi-structured interview during which they were asked to discuss their food-making habits, specifically related to traditional foods. The participants were asked to describe their childhood experiences with food. They were also asked to talk about their parents' roles in the home in relation to their responsibilities within and outside the home. These open-ended questions, which have been in included in Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions, were designed to help build a rapport with the participant and ease them into the more personal questions that asked about identity, language, religion, and culture. These interviews were filmed with my personal video recorder, stored on both my personal laptop and an external hard drive kept within my home, and then transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet on my personal laptop. Once all the interviews were transcribed, the data was sorted into general categories using OneNote. These categories were determined based on reoccurring themes and issues that I noticed while transcribing.[69] These categories, in alphabetical order, are: Agriculture, Bilingualism, Barbeque, Canning, Chores and Roles, Corn Roast, Familles Souches, Family Gatherings, Fish

[67] Anna Shetfel and Stacey Zembrzycki (Ed.). *Oral History Off the Record: Toward an Ethnography of Practice* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).
[68] The strategy to create fictional characters is used by in Carolyn Ellis' *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Authoethnography* where she creates fictitious students who debate the principles and tenets of autoethnography.
[69] The decision to sort via large theme rather than very specific topics was a result of my experience with my MA paper on my family's traditional foods. During that project, I had created far too many topics and had found data overlapping too frequently making the information difficult to find because it had been over sorted. This system, of having fewer topics, resulted in far less overlap and repetition – though it did not eliminate it – and made the data far easier to manage.

Fry, Food: Cultural Creating Ties, Food: As Love, Franco-Ontarian versus French-Canadian, Grand-mothers, Holidays, Hunting, Maple Syrup, Demographic Information, Meat, Mixed Marriages, Nature and Astorville, Osmosis, Kitchen (which was subdividing into: Physical Space, Men in the Kitchen, Women in the Kitchen, Children in the Kitchen, and Negotiating the Kitchen Space), Bread, Recipe Books, Religion, Sounds and Smells, Quebec, and Value Language. I assigned each participant a number and included a table in each of the OneNote tabs that included all the numbers. If, and when, a participant had talked about the topic, their relevant part of the transcript was placed in the respective tables. The semi-structured interviews took place within my participants' homes.[70] If the participant was not also performing the culinary chat, which will be discussed in the next paragraph, the interviews took place either in the person's living room or kitchen.

Supplementing the semi-structured interviews, this project also uses a specific form of observation known as culinary chats which, Meredith E. Abarca argues in *Voices in the Kitchen: Views of Food and the World from Working-Class Mexican and Mexican American Women*, are a better way to interview individuals when trying to understand their relationship to their foodways. In traditional, structured interviews, she has observed, even if working-class men and women "belong... to a nonacademic world where textual knowledge does not directly influence their everyday life,"[71] they still felt and respond to "societal demands"[72] in a way that indicated that they were aware of the societal implications and limitations inherent in their gender and ethnic reality. Importantly, "[k]itchens and cooking, [are] a place and [an] activity that most women [and more and more men] engage in regardless of educational level, ethnicity, or class status, [and so] form the praxis to bridge the gap between

[70] The only exception to this were Natasha Krauss and Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx who had both preferred speaking to me outside their homes. Both of those interviews were conducted at my parents' home which was a more central meeting point.
[71] Meredith E Abarca, *Voices in the Kitchen: View of Food and the World from Working-Class Mexican and Mexican American Women* (United States of America, 2006), 4.
[72] Abarca, *Voices in the Kitchen*, 4.

academic theoretical discourses about [male and] female subjectivity and quotidian working-class practices of [male and] female agency."[73] Everyone has been in a kitchen, even if the person was not actually making the food. The kitchen is a key site where individuals define themselves as not only gendered beings but also where they assume their place in the family hierarchy. Placing people within this physical area has been important as it has allowed me to see how they act and react in real time.[74] How they play these roles out in the kitchen is telling of a number of other societal values and attitudes. Together, these two interview methods have generated a fuller picture of traditional food practices. As Anderson et al. suggest in *Three Many Cooks: One Mom, Two Daughters: Their Shared Stories of Food*, *Faith & Family* "[y]ou can be the recipient of the goodness that comes from food, but you have to create it yourself to really 'get' on a deeper level the way that home-cooked meals and relationship-building are inextricably linked."[75] Through both the talking about traditional food and then the making of it, this project aims to combine theory and practice to see to what extent the deeper meaning of these foods is understood by the participants.

Some participants chose to do both the semi-structured interview and the culinary chat at the same time. Table 1: Participation Status provides a complete list of which participants were involved in which type of interview. When both parts were done at the same time, the interviews took place in the person's kitchen. For group culinary chats, for example when the Dégagnés made Christmas cookies and my family made gingerbread houses, the interviews took place in the "family" home. The Dégagnés

[73] Abarca, *Voices in the Kitchen*, 4.

[74] Knowledge of the inner workings of the kitchen and of recipes came up in both my father and my grandfather's interviews for my MA. Both could describe how certain meals were made even if they had not eaten these meals in many years. During her interviews of Sudbury's Ukrainian community, Stacey Zembryzck's male participants similarly recall their mother's work in the kitchen though they were not necessarily actively involved. See Stacey Zembryzcki, "'There Were Always Men in Our House': Gender and the Childhood Memories of Working-Class, 77-105.

[75] Pam Anderson, Maggy Keet, and Sharon Damelio, *Three Many Cooks: One Mom, Two Daughters: Their Shared Stories of Food*, *Faith & Family* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2015), 24.

gathered in Laurette and Raymond's home – the house Amanda and Christine grew up in. The Weiskopfs gathered at my parents'. In these instances, not everyone performed the semi-structured interview.

Consent for all interviews was obtained before beginning the interview. Participants received a document on Laurentian University letterhead that included a description of my project, that outlined the benefits and risks of being part of the study, that explained how I would store the information until the project was done, and that provided a contact person, Dr. Linda Ambrose, in case the person had any complaints. I read over this document with each participant before beginning the interview, signed the document and left the document with the person. This document was available in both French and English and participants generally received a copy of the document in the language in which the interview was being conducted. These documents are included in this paper in Appendix B: Oral History Consent Form. While talking about one's childhood is generally positive, there is no doubt that not all childhoods are happy. I experienced this during the *Astorville Celebrates* project when a few participants talked about either being very hungry as children due to financial situations or about being in situations that were dangerous.[76] Given that my questions may have caused painful memories to resurface, participants were also given a list of local counselling services that could be contacted in the event that they needed support. This information was also provided in both French and English and can has been included in Appendix C: List of Counselling Contact Numbers for Interviewees Who Wish to Contact a Counsellor.

[76] The *Astorville Celebrates* project took place September 25, 2015 to celebrate Astorville's 130the birthday, the relocation of École élémentaire catholique St. Thomas d'Aquin, and 400 years of Francophone presence in Ontario. Though primarily a weekend celebration featuring a parade, activities, and entertainment, the committee also took the opportunity to create a walking tour of the village, interview 59 participants about life in Astorville, create a bilingual digital archive available on the Internet for future research, and publish a bilingual book about Astorville's history that included data from the interviews as well as featured local recipes and art.
[76] Marie-Rene Gauthier, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., December 27, 2014.

Participants were then asked to sign an informed consent that gave permission on one or more of four points. Firstly, participants consented to being interviewed. Secondly, they were given a choice to either be quoted directly in my paper or to speak anonymously, off the record, which would mean that they could inform the research without being identified in any way and without being filmed. Thirdly, participants were asked if the film could be donated to a museum and/or archive for the use of future research by other researchers. While no digital archive currently exists in East Ferris, in the event that such an archive someday becomes a reality, I feel these interviews are of tremendous value for present and future generations who hope to learn more about the community. Finally, participants were asked if I and future researchers could use all or part of the interview in the form of a transcript or in digital form on a community history website or in the publication of future projects without seeking further consent. During the *Astorville Celebrates* project, a digital walking tour was created and voices from our interviews supplemented each stop on the map. The combination of history, images, and voices made for a very rich sharing of information. While there are no plans for future work on this or other community websites, these interviews would certainly be a valuable contribution in future projects. For children who participated in the study, parents gave consent. Only three minors participated in the semi-structured interview. The consent form was explained to them as well. The other children did not answer any questions but were filmed making food.

One important element in terms of consent relates to my own children. Throughout this paper, and especially in the reflection pieces, I included parts of my real conversations with my children and I also use them as characters in situations I have created to reflect on and explore some of the observations I have made in other people's homes and families. In fact, I have also used some of my other family members, notably my husband and my mother, to the same ends. While my mother and husband understand my methodology and have seen and consented to this strategy, my children are a more complicated issue. While they want to help me, they are weary about being put on display and

have voiced this concern. For example, I had hoped to use a picture I had taken of one of my daughters' illustrations. Upon consulting her, however, her hesitance was a clear sign that she was not comfortable and so I have not used the picture. I have similarly consulted them about the other parts of the paper in which they have been mentioned and I have, at times, had to adjust the text.

As an autoethnographic project, it would be difficult to keep my children out of this project entirely. They are, after all, a motivating factor in my choice of research topic. Frustrated as I may be by the pressure of opposing dominant discourses in and on my life, I was not as passionate about this topic until I had my own children and saw how language and heritage complicate personal ideas of culture and identity. I also did not realise how challenging it is to try to create balance in an individual when one is part of a bilingual home. Through my children, I have realised the challenges my own parents faced when we were young. As a parent myself, I have, at times, been critical of my parents' decisions and vowed to do differently. Other times, my new perspective has made me more forgiving about decisions they made for us. From my position as mother-researcher, I recognise that I am in a position of authority and that my children are part of a vulnerable population. Negotiating these ethical concerns is not uncommon in any research and even less so in autoethnography. Being entrusted with individuals' words comes with a responsibility and duty to do them no harm.

I have been heavily influenced by three autoethnographers and their works as I developed my methodology: Carolyn Ellis' *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography*, Tessa Muncey's *Creating Autoethnographies*, and Heewon Chang's *Autoethnography as Method*.[77] All three texts provide a clear history of autoethnography as well as a guide to doing autoethnography. In Ellis' text, this guide takes the form of a series of lectures she shares with the reader that ultimately make up a course on autoethnography. By including not only the lecture she would be delivering in a real

[77] Ellis, *The Ethnographic I*; and Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*.

classroom but also sharing the discussions she has in and outside of class with her real and fictional students, she is able to not only inform the reader about the ins and outs of autoethnography, but she is also able to address its challenges. Muncey's work is divided into two parts. She begins with the theory of autoethnography and the various forms it can take. The second half of her work then shows various examples of these different types of autoethnography. As a more practical and traditional guide, Chang's work, like Muncey's begins by defining this method. However, the rest of the book is a detailed and thorough step-by-step guide to undertaking an autoethnographic study. Together, these three works have given me clear direction in my own project and have helped me anticipate and overcome the challenges inherent in this very personal research methodology.

As much as these three texts have helped me see the merit of autoethnography and have helped me plan and execute this paper, another set of essays was beneficial in helping me position myself in relation to ethnography. Published in 2006, volume 35, number 4 of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* was dedicated to a discussion about the future of autoethnography. Within this volume, scholars Leon Anderson, Paul Atkinson, Joel Best, Delysa Burnier, Kathy Charmaz, Norman Denzin, Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner, Scott A. Hunt and Natalia Ruiz Junco, Carol Rambo, and Kevin D. Vryan debate the directions and form this type of research should take.[78] Some, like Anderson and

[78] Leon Anderson, "Analytic Autoethnography," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol 35, no. 4 (2006): 373-395; Paul Atkinson, "Rescuing Autoethnography," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 400-404. 35, no. 4 (2006); Joel Best, "What, We Worry? The Pleasures and Costs of Defective Memory for Qualitative Sociologists," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. vol. 35, no. 4 (2006): 466-478; DeLysa Burnier, "Encounters With the Self in Social Science Research: A Political Scientist Looks at Autoethnography," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35, no. 4 (2006): 410-418; Kathy Charmaz, "The Power of Names" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35, no. 4 (2006): 396-399; Norman Denzin, "Analytic Autoethnography, or Déjà Vu all Over Again" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35, no. 4 (2006): 419-428; Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner, "Analyzing Analytic Autoethnography: An Autopsy." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35, no. 4 (2006): 429-449; Scott A. Hunt and Natalia Ruiz Junco, "Introduction to Two Thematic Issues: Defective Memory and Analytical Autoethnography" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35, no. 4 (2006): 371-372; Carol Rambo, "Impressions of Grandmother: An Autoethnographic Portrait" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 34, no. 5 (2005): 560-585; Kevin D. Vryan, "Expanding Analytic Autoethnography and Enhancing Its Potential" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35, no. 4 (2006): 405-409.

Atkinson, believe autoethnography should adopt a more scientific and objective approach while others, like Ellis and Bochner, express their fear that making the methodology less subjective would take away from its power and potential. In terms of my own research, this volume has been crucial in helping me position myself in respect to these competing academic tendencies. The two-part structure this paper has taken is in fact my way to find a middle ground between a need to provide the scholarly tone expected in a doctoral thesis while also including my subjective, sometimes raw, reflections as I make sense of what I have heard and seen.

My study of Astorville's evolving foodways is the study of my own evolving foodways. A resident of the municipality and a member of one of its founding families, my story is inextricably tied to this place and these people. Five generations of my family have been linked to the local school's history. Five generations have been members of the local parish and have shopped in the local grocery store. The village and my family, however, have evolved over time. I am a product of a mixed marriage: my mother is French-Canadian but my father, who was born in Namibia, is of German heritage. Although once entirely French and devoutly Catholic, my family is one of those that make up the statistics used to explain the assimilation of French at the hands of a dominant, Anglophone population. Growing up, my siblings and I were scolded for speaking English when we played together but were taught to speak English if there was an Anglophone in the room. French was never a "closet-language"[79] in my family, but it could be a bone of contention when we did not switch language so my father could understand us. In elementary school, high school, and again in university, I have studied the impact that anti-French policies such as Regulation XVII have had on French-speaking Canadians. I have heard about the fight for French rights from family members who fought for them on the picket line when they went on strike for a separate, French-language high school. I am proud that my children, my siblings, and their children all

[79] Sheila McLeod Arnopolous, *Voices from French Ontario* (Canada: McGill-Queen UP, 1982).

speak French. It is clear that, despite living in a predominantly Anglophone world, our linguistic heritage is important to us.

Over the course of my life, I have met many who take a militant approach to language by refusing to allow English television in their homes, for example, or only putting their children in French-language extracurricular activities. I have also witnessed the extreme opposite – families in which both parents speak French but who raise their children in English. I know of English families who purposely put their children in French school and French families who send their children to English school. Personally, I have come to realise that I do not want to live exclusively in either French or English. I want to live in both. I am proud of this hyphenated reality but it is difficult to explain. Autoethnography is thus a critical methodology in this study as my perspective has driven my choice of research topic and the bias I had when I began. By juxtaposing my former perspective with the information I have gathered from my participants, I can draw a more complete picture of minority French-Canadians in situations analogous to Astorville.

History

According to Allen Repko, "[h]istorians believe that any historical period cannot be adequately appreciated without understanding the trends and developments leading up to it, that historical events are the result of both societal forces and individual decisions, and that a picture or narrative of the past can be no better than the richness of its details."[80] By digging through archives, reading past cooking books, and studying census data, it is possible to understand the major historical movements, food trends, and demographic realities of Astorville, Ontario. However, as an interdisciplinary project that understands that culture and experience are more complicated than what is simply written down, this

[80] Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research*, 103.

project makes a point of specifying important subcategories of historical research: culinary history, French-Canadian history, and post-colonial/race studies.

Culinary History

In "Culinary history," Ken Albala is quick to remind his reader that historic cookbooks and gastronomic literature "very rarely are [an] accurate record[] of what people actually ate… a researcher can be sure that a cookbook reflects the ideas and values of the author and perhaps by extension a set of readers who purchased the book, but this is almost never an indication of exactly how people cooked or what they ate."[81] Rather, researchers should read cookbooks, both historic and modern, for what they can tell us about how gender was being constructed in the period, to see what ingredients were valued and recommended, and understand what tools and techniques were needed to make the food in the book. As this research project is interested in understanding how people learn to make traditional foods and whether or not a lack of skill is overcome by actively finding instructions, recipes and cookbooks are important sources of data.

Personal cookbooks are also key sources for understanding culture and identity. Unlike professionally printed cookbooks that are endorsed by recognised chefs or companies, personal cookbooks often take the form of scrapbooks or boxes filled with recipes. Today, the Internet provides a range of recipes and sites such as Pinterest and Cooks.com allow individuals to create online cookbooks, tag or bookmark favourites, and share their preferences with others. Though this project is not interested in studying cookbooks per se, it is interested in studying how food connects individuals and how food defines a culture. Authors such as Anne Bower, Marlene Epp, Diane Tye, Janet Theophano, and Marie Drews, to name but a select few, have demonstrated that community cookbooks and personal

[81] Ken Albala, "Culinary history," *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies*, Edited by Ken Albala (Oxon, Routledge, 2013), 117.

recipes are ways in which individuals express themselves.[82] Shared recipes create a community of individuals tied together by the similarity of the foods they consume, show respect for the culinary skills of others when a recipe is requested, and create posterity within families as recipes are passed down from one generation to the next. By studying the link between family foods and generational trends, this study will contribute to the growing interest in culinary history. Tracing foodways from one generation to the next as well as between community members, this project will explore just how entrenched some food habits are and make predictions about the continuity of certain foods over others.

French-Canadian History

French-speaking Canadians in Canada are a subject of much historical significance. Since the British North America Act of 1867, French has been recognised as one of the two official languages of Canada's Parliament. Yet, the right to be educated and to receive public services in French has not always been available. In provinces outside of Quebec, assimilationist policies of the late 1800s and early 1900s aimed to eliminate French as a spoken language. The ensuing public and political protests to these policies have remained the focus of much scholarly work about French-speaking Canadians. Linguistic assimilation is an undeniable element of any minority culture and French-Canadians are no exception. Since language is one of the primary ways through which individuals categorise themselves, linguistic fluency is undoubtedly an important factor to consider when studying culture and identity. Given that in 2015 only 36% of Astorville's residents identified themselves as having French as their mother tongue,[83] there has been a clear shift in the village's demographic makeup. The census data certainly gives cause

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[82] Anne L. Bower, "Bound Together: Recipes, Lives, Stories, and Readings," *Recipes for Reading Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (Massachusetts, University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 1-14; Bower, "Cooking Up Stories: Narrative Elements in Community Cookbooks," 29-50; Marlene Epp, "More than 'Just' Recipes: Mennonite Cookbooks in Mid-Twentieth-Century North America," *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, Marlene Epp (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), 173-188; Tye, *Baking as Biography*; Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2002); Marie I. Drews, "Cooking *In Memory's Kitchen*: Re-Presenting Recipes, Remembering the Holocaust," *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, Edited by Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato (Albany, SUNY, 2008), 53-77.

[83] *Community Profiles from the 2006 Census, Statistics Canada*. N.p., n.d. Accessed 22 June 2015.

for concern and seems to provide clear evidence that Francophone Astorvillians will someday cease to exist. However, many French-Canadian traditions are very much alive and well in the community. Moreover, the local elementary school has over 200 students and has just moved to a new building.[84] The residents of Astorville clearly ascribe a certain degree of importance and value to French-Canadian traditions, education in French, and to the French language. Understanding just what is valued and why is precisely the subject of this paper. Chapter 2 therefore traces the evolution of French-language rights and the realities of the people of Astorville and juxtaposes Astorville's linguistic development with that of French-speaking people in other parts of the country.

1.3.3. Postcolonial/Race Studies

According to the definition of post-colonial studies, which is understood as the study of a cultural group after a colonial government has withdrawn from a given territory,[85] French-Canadians do not literally qualify as a group that could be studied by post-colonial scholars. This is because the French have themselves been a colonial force that had long held power throughout Canada. Starting with the Samuel de Champlain's first contact with the Algonquin people of the Ottawa Valley in 1603, the French quickly established a first settlement at Tadoussac on the St. Lawrence River. In 1610, "Algonquin guides accompanied Étienne Brûlé on his voyage into the interior of Canada" developing the fur trade and changing the economic and political reality of Canada forever.[86] With the British winning the battle for North America, Indigenous rights and lands were taken from the Algonquins in Upper Canada to make room for the Loyalists coming from new United States.[87] The dispute over this Algonquin territory, which

[84] There is an English public elementary school, Ferris Glen Public School, located in Corbeil which is also part of East Ferris. The geographical makeup of the Township of East Ferris, of which Astorville is part, will be described in section 1.4 Community of Study.
[85] Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, practice, politics* (Oxon: Routledge, 1996), 2.
[86] "Our Proud History," *Algonquins of Ontario Consultation Office*. 11 January 2018 http://www.tanakiwin.com/algonquins-of-ontario/our-proud-history/
[87] "Our Proud History," *Algonquins of Ontario Consultation Office*.

was never officially given or sold to the government, has not yet been resolved. Over the course of the next century, land was given to Europeans so the area could be logged and developed. The Canadian Pacific Railway crossed through the area and roads were slowly developed. In doing so, the Algonquins of the area saw their settlements displaced and their hunting and fishing grounds disappear.

Decolonisation "is about shifting the way Indigenous Peoples view themselves and the way non-Indigenous people view Indigenous Peoples… [It] requires non-Indigenous Canadians to recognize and accept the reality of Canada's colonial history, accept how that history paralyzed Indigenous Peoples, and how it continues to subjugate Indigenous People."[88] Indeed, it is important to acknowledge that in creating policies and programs that allowed French and English Europeans to access, clear, and develop the land in places like Astorville, the government and the settlers actively participated in destroying the places in which Indigenous Peoples, like the Algonquin, lived. Thus, as one of Canada's colonial forces, French-Canadians have held a position of power and authority that cannot be disputed.

I admit that recognising my ancestors' colonial role is difficult for me. The narrative I was taught at home and in school was of the valiant "pioneer" who came to work hard, clear the land, and make a home. The fact that Indigenous people did not have a settlement in what is now Astorville, was offered to me as evidence that the land was uninhabited – that it was empty and so free to take. Looking at the settlement of Astorville through the lens of decolonisation, however, I have become acutely aware that my ancestors contributed in establishing and promoting a colonial system that has long kept Indigenous peoples, like the Algonquins, from being equal members of society. Importantly, work by the Friends of the La Vase Portage has uncovered that the portage between Trout Lake and Lake Nipissing was an important trade route used by Indigenous people and that at least one family did live on the portage

[88] Bob Joseph, "A Brief Definition of Decolonization and Indegenization," Indigenous Corporate Training Inc. 29 March 2017.

route.[89] Don Clysdale's work has shown that Callander, which is on the shores of Lake Nipissing, was the site of Indigenous burial grounds.[90] Settlers of Astorville who worked for J. R. Booth would have worked in Callander. Consultation of the primary documents available on the website *Algonquins of Ontario: A Renewed Hope: A Journey of Survival, Rebuilding, and Self Sufficiency* supports the claims made by local historians that there were no permanent settlements and that there have not yet been any archaeological discoveries on the shores of Lake Nosbonsing or in what is now Astorville. The site also supports that Astorville is part of Algonquin territory and that it would have been used as a hunting and fishing ground. Ongoing work will hopefully look more closely at this area specifically and at hunting and fishing land in general to allow scholars to better account for the ways in which settlement not only displaced Indigenous people but also, ultimately, forced them to move away from the homes they had nearby. I hope that this project can be a step toward changing the narrative and perspective we tell ourselves in Astorville about our past.

Part of the reason I have not considered my own family's role in the colonising of Indigenous land comes from the fact that my education has focused on the tensions between French and English in the province. Despite their own colonial past, French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians have also struggled against an oppressive and dominant English centre that once actively sought to eradicate all French from the province of Ontario. In fact, given that many of my participants do not question or resist the notion that they must be fluent in English to do well in life is an indication that colonial structures are still very powerful. In this sense, French-Canadians can absolutely be considered a "national minority," as is understood by political philosophers like Will Kymlicka, who have argued that the French of Canada are a cultural group whose presence goes back to before the state was formed.[91] Indeed Helen Gilbert and

[89] The La Vase Portage is right on the outskirts of East Ferris though does not include Astorville. See *Friends of the La Vase Portage* at http://www.lavaseportages.com.
[90] Don Clysdale, *Callander Now & Then* (Callander: Nicky Designs, 2011).
[91] Michael Braund, "Will Kymlicka" 17 November 2014. *encyclopediecanadienne.ca* Accessed 11 January 2018.

Joanne Tompkins suggest in *Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, practice, politics*, that post-colonialism "according to a too-rigid etymology – is frequently misunderstood as a temporal concept meaning the time after colonisation has ceased, or the time following the politically determined Independence Day on which a country breaks away from its governance by another state."[92] Rather, they argue, post-colonialism is "an engagement with and contestation of colonialism's discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies."[93]

Kitchens, like the stages of Gilbert's and Tompkins' studies, are one place where individuals resist dominant ideas. Kitchens are sites where people affirm their cultural identity and express themselves in ways they find familiar and comforting. In this sense, food can act like a language that is used to structure the group. However, the traditional foods French-Canadians make are not inherently "French" and the structures the food seeks to uphold are not absolute. Rather, they are themselves a product of choice within the historic realities and possibilities of the time. This project is interested in using history, specifically culinary, to study how making food is a purposeful act. My study combines primary and secondary sources to understand how "meaning is generated, disseminated, reproduced, negotiated, and resisted through values, beliefs, symbols, practices, institutions, as well as economic, social, and political structures within a given culture." [94]

This project thus aims to show that personal definitions of what it means to be French-Canadian are actually shared by others and that in valuing (or not) traditional, French-Canadian foods, individuals are resisting (or are) changing their foodways to conform to the pressure of mainstream culture. Shifting trends "can reveal, it is argued, the shifting values, beliefs and identities of a society or culture."[95] By

[92] Gilbert and Tompkins, *Post-Colonial Drama*, 2.
[93] Gilbert and Tompkins, *Post-Colonial Drama*, 2.
[94] Fabio Parasecoli, "Food, cultural studies, and popular culture," Ken Albala ed., *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies,* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 274.
[95] Short, *Kitchen Secrets*, 17.

studying how pressure from the dominant discourse impacts the food language of the home, this project will consider whether Astorvillians are shifting their cultural values in more than just language.

Material Culture Studies

According to Julie Prown, "[m]aterial culture is just what it says it is – namely, the manifestations of culture through material productions."[96] Studying material culture "is the study of material to understand culture, to discover the beliefs – the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions – of a particular community or society at a given time."[97] Like food, objects are often ignored in contemporary research because of their ubiquity. Indeed, because they are not living, it is easy to forget the extent to which objects inform us about the people who use them and what they can tell us about the historical and social context being studied. Material culture studies is informed by anthropology because anthropologists have long looked at the objects of ancient and primitive civilizations to study the larger cultural, social, and political realities of those people. It also shares with folklore an interest in rituals where objects become infused with symbolic life. Scholars have applied perspectives from anthropology and folklore to the study of more contemporary cultures. In *Sweetness and Power*, for example, Sidney Mintz suggests that the "social history of the use of new foods in a western nation can contribute to an anthropology of modern life."[98] In this sense, material cultural studies combines anthropology and folklore's interests in rituals and practices to show how the objects are not only a product of the culture but also influence the culture that uses them.

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[96] J. Prown, "The truth of material culture: history or fiction," *History from things: Essays on material culture*, Edited by S. Lubar and W. Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 1.

[97] Prown, "The truth of material culture: history or fiction," 1. For a good history of this field of studies see Victor Buchli, *The Material Culture Reader* (New York: Berg, 2002). For examples of material culture studies related to the home, see Daniel Miller *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors* (New York: Berg, 2005) and Miller's *Materiality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[98] Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985), xxviii.

To study material culture, one must turn away, at least momentarily, from the people using the objects in order to study the objects themselves. Objects have their own history. They are made by humans for a specific purpose and thus understanding who made them and why can tell us about the people who used the tool. Being inanimate, objects may pass from one generation to another. Given that technology changes all the time, objects will eventually be used differently than they were initially intended and thus following the tools teaches scholars about cultural evolution.

The ingredients used to make traditional foods should similarly fall under the researcher's scrutiny. In our postmodern world, it might be easy to take for granted that we are autonomous beings free to eat what we want, when we want. We may not consider that our food choices actually tell us about who we are or where we belong. However, scholars such as Kyla Wazana Tompkins use the study of specific foodways to question just how free individuals really are. According to her,

> [e]ating intervenes as a determining moment in what [she] argue[s] are paradoxical and historically specific attempts to regulate embodiment, which [she] define[s] as living in and through the social experience of the matter we call flesh. Nationalist foodways – and the objects fetishized therein – in turn become allegories through which the expanding nation and its attendant anxieties play out. What we see in the nineteenth century – as indeed we do today in such racialized discourses as obesity, hunger, and diabetes – is the production of social inequality at the level of the quotidian functioning of the body. What also emerges, however, are fissures and openings in the body politic, spaces where political fictions are exposed, messy, and only semidigested.[99]

[99] Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 4.

How we choose to eat, according to Tompkins and scholars such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Judith Butler, Laura Shapiro, and Sherrie Inness, [100] is one way that we perform our racial and gendered selves. Moreover, it is not just that what we eat tells us about who we are. Rather, as Ken Albala stresses in *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, it is more about studying how individuals feel about the food they eat that tells us about them. "Because underlying cultural assumptions and beliefs are taken for granted or repressed, they are not visible in what a society says, or does, or makes – its self-conscious expressions. They are, however, detectable in the way things are said, or done, or made – that is, in their style…. When groups of objects share formal characteristics, those resemblances or resonances constitute style."[101] Thus, by studying the food that is made and understanding how the ingredients are acquired, transformed into something edible, and how they are served, we can understand how individuals place themselves within the larger social and cultural hierarchy. In order to measure the impact of tools on a person's food practices I have transcribed not only the words but also the actions as people made food during their interviews. This has allowed me to see, among other things, how often a person refers to his/her recipe, where the recipe comes from, how comfortable s/he is in the kitchen or cooking space, and what modern conveniences the person uses and/or rejects. By seeing how individuals interact with objects, I have been able to see what power these objects have on individuals.

Gender Studies

Gender history has several distinguishing characteristics: it focuses on specific experiences to look at the ways in which men and women interact with each other in public and private places; it

[100] Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett with Steven L. Hopp and Camille Kingsolver. *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle: A Year of Food Life* (New York: HarperCollins Publisher, 2007); Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Foreword," *Culinary Tourism* Edited by Lucy M. Long (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 2010), xi-xiv and "Playing to the Senses: Food as a Performance Medium" *Performance Research* 4, no. 1 (1999); Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (Dec. 1988), 519-531. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3207893; Laura Shapiro, *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Viking, 2004); Sherrie Inness, *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2001) and *Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa, University of Iowa Press, 2001).
[101] Prown, "The truth of material culture: history or fiction," 4.

deconstructs the variables and the hierarchies of power that exist between and within gender groups; and it analyses the language that is employed by politicians, the media, and individuals during the period in question to once again ascertain how gender is being defined and regulated. Essentially, gender history seeks to understand how gender is *constructed*. The notion that women are "natural" homemakers who live to create nurturing spaces and wholesome, creative meals for their families still exists in contemporary literature. In fact, recent works on motherhood often focus on the pressure and subsequent guilt that mothers face when it comes to making decisions about their children's welfare and balancing the pressure to feed their families well while also working full time outside and inside the home.[102] What some might consider archaic messages from a long time ago, such as the one found in the introduction to the 1877 *The Canadian Home Cook Book Compiled by: Ladies of Toronto and Chief Cities and Towns in Canada*, which claims that "[s]uccess in housekeeping adds credit to the woman of intellect, and lustre to a woman's accomplishments,"[103] have not disappeared. Contemporary cookbooks and cookbook authors, such as Food Network featured chef Nigella Lawson's *How to Be a Domestic Goddess: Baking and the Art of Comfort Cooking*, echo this specific version of femininity. She argues that women need to reclaim the kitchen space from which they "have become alienated" in order to make it "comforting rather than frightening." [104] Baking, she claims, "stands both as a useful metaphor for the familial warmth of the kitchen we fondly imagine used to exist, and as a way of reclaiming our lost Eden."[105] Thus even in the twenty-first century, where women must work outside the home and are often still depicted as the primary homemakers, it is hard for women and men to ignore long-established

[102] See Erika Horwitz, *Through the Maze of Motherhood: Empowered Mothers Speak* (Bradford: Demeter Press, 2011) and Reva Seth, *The MomShift: Women Share their Stories of Career Success after Having Children* (United States: Random House Canada, 2014).
[103] *Tried! Tested! Proven! The Canadian Home Cook Book Compiled by: Ladies of Toronto and Chief Cities and Towns in Canada* (California: Creative Cookbooks, 2002), 9.
[104] Nigella Lawson, *How to Be a Domestic Goddess: Baking and the Art of Comfort Cooking* (Germany: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), vii.
[105] Lawson, *How to Be a Domestic Goddess*, vii.

ideas of gender. As researchers, it is important to recognise that these messages are still very prominent and seek to understand how they impact our lives.

Acknowledging and accepting that gender is constructed and not innate means that it is an act, a performance we have come to expect of men and women. Performances are scripted and, through repeated practice, establish a norm. Gender and performance studies scholars, like Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimlett, Richard Shechner, and Judith Butler remind us that "[t]here are temporal and collective dimensions to these actions, and their public nature is not inconsequential; indeed, the performance is effected with the strategic aim of maintaining gender within its binary frame. Understood in pedagogical terms, the performance renders social laws explicit."[106] Defying the social laws of expected gender norms is difficult because the people acting out their gender do not recognise that through their normalising of the roles, they end up maintaining and enforcing these binaries. Each of us, Erving Goffman argues,

> is an "actor" who plays certain "parts" in front of a believing "audience" of colleagues, acquaintances, family and friends. Goffman called this disposition a "front" – the posture one employs to convince someone else of something, or to earn a certain social standing. He pointed out that an individual may not consciously be aware of his "performance." But this fact does not mean that his behavior is any less performed than that of a stage actor who is well aware he is playing a role.[107]

As with the other methods described in this interdisciplinary toolbox, performance and gender scholars do not

[106] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 526. See also Kirschenblatt-Gimblett "Playing to the Senses" and Schechner, "Introduction: The Fan and the Web."
[107] Quoted in Shana Komitee, "A Student's Guide to Performance Studies" p. 10 Accessed 7 July 2017. https://writingproject.fas.havard.edu/files/hwp/files/performance_studies.pdf

> begin by asking questions of "**Being.**" They do not inquire into "essences," as if beliefs and social values are natural or God-given. Instead, Performance Studies scholars see all social reality as constructed by "**Doings**" – actions, behaviors and events… the various features of a culture's life are contingent – they are shaped and reshaped into particular social and historical circumstances, in complex and lengthy processes. By way of analogy then, a group's alleged "nature" is actually a series of performances: behaviors which are learned, rehearsed and presented over time.[108]

Making food is one way women have acted out and maintained their gendered selves, in contrast to men who, historically, have not been in the domestic kitchen.

Recent food scholars such as Sherrie Inness and Diane Tye have noted that researchers are, however, beginning to move away from studies that assume women will be in the kitchen in order to ask: "Where do we pick up the ideology that women 'naturally' belong in the kitchen and men 'naturally' do not?"[109] By changing the lens from an expectation to an exploration, gender historians can use aspects of food-making to help understand how gender is constructed in specific places and/or periods. More and more work is emerging by men and women about men who cook. These authors are pushing back at stereotypical portrayals of males in the kitchen space. Gary Draper, Christopher Dummitt and John Donohue are but three examples.[110] Just as this study aims to analyse ideas of power and race, it also aims to break down ideas of gender to better understand how gender impacts cultural transmission.

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[108] Shana Komitee, "A Student's Guide to Performance Studies," 2-4

[109] Sherrie Innes, *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2001), 3.

[110] John Donohue, "Introduction," *Man with a Pan: Culinary Adventures of Fathers Who Cook for Their Families*, Edited by John Donohue (Chapel Hill, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2011); Gary Draper, "Dishing Dad: 'How to Cook a Husband' and Other Metaphorical Recipes," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History,* Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 257-270; Christopher Dummit, "Finding a Place for Father: Selling the Barbecue in Postwar Canada," *Journal of Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 9, no. 1 (1998): 209-223.

1.4. Community of Study

First settled in 1883 by Joseph Guillemette and Cleophas and Alexandre Robert, Astorville is not much different from many other rural, Northern Ontarian communities like New Liskeard and Alexandria.[111] Before the arrival of these Quebecois farmers, what is now Astorville was known by the Algonquin as "Nosbonsing." According to the Algonquin of Ontario Consultation Office, the Algonquins were in this area long before Samuel de Champlain arrived. In Ojibwa, Nosbonsing means meeting place and the land was used as hunting grounds.[112] When lumber baron J. R. Booth arrived in the Nipissing area in the late 1860s, Astorville became known as "Tête du lac" because it was the head of Lake Nosbonsing. Booth realised that the waters of Lake Nipissing flowed west instead of east, so to get his lumber to his mills in Ottawa, he built a rail line between Lake Nipissing and Lake Nosbonsing. From the head of lake Nosbonsing, where his Nipissing and Nosbonsing Railway ended, the logs were dumped from the railcars and floated down to the foot of the lake in Bonfield. From there, the logs followed the inland waterway to eventually reach the Ottawa River and Booth's lumber mill in Ottawa.[113]

The lumber industry was just one of the reasons that a number of Quebecois farmers came to Tête du lac. Shortages of land in Quebec was one of the main reasons farmers from these areas sought new opportunities. Moreover, the Catholic Church had a major influence in promoting the migration of French, Catholic farmers into other parts of the country. From the pulpit, church leaders preached the moral and civic duty to create French strongholds throughout the Dominion although "colonisation" within Quebec remained their preferred option. While not everyone may have had this political agenda,

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[111] Farmer, *Artisans de la modernité*.

[112] Gisèle Reed, Pauline Rochefort, Lora Webb, and Emily Weiskopf-Ball. *Astorville – notre chez-nous/Astorville – our home* (Callander: Nicky Designs, 2015), 7.

[113] Booth was a significant influence in the Nipissing area. The lumber industry he brought to the area employed men in the lumber camps, as steamboat operators, and in the office. The presence of the industry in the area developed the towns of Callander and Astorville, which are still vibrant today, as well as others that are less visible such as Fossmills. Even after Booth pulled his operations out of the area in 1913, the lumber industry continued to employ many individuals.

one of the major founders of Astorville, J. A. Lévesque, reveals in his diaries that this ideology was first and foremost on his mind and driving his work in making Astorville a community that could sustain itself.[114] As these early settlers sent word back to their places of origin that Tête du lac was a good place to live, family members and friends also made the trip. Thus, many of the founding families of Astorville come from the same few villages in the Gaspé area of Quebec. This created a very tight knit community even if people were separated by vast areas of land and only really connected by the lake in these early times.

When J. R. Booth left the area in 1913, local residents worried about being able to feed their families. Thanks to J. A. Lévesque, who founded the first Agricultural Society, putting more emphasis on farming became the solution to keeping families alive and in the area. The local priests were also influential in keeping the agricultural business alive by petitioning the government for subsidies. Thanks to Père Astor, after whom Astorville is named, road conditions improved enough over time to make it easier for local farmers to travel to the North Bay Farmers' Market to sell their produce. Tourism, especially after the birth of the Dionne Quintuplets in 1934, was also a great source of revenue for many Astorvillians who had cottages and/or who guided the tourists.[115] Overall, the people of the area were innovative in finding work opportunities and the community survived these hard times.

Farms were small but sustained the families with large gardens, a few sheep, cows, chickens, and pigs. Women made and sold butter and extra eggs. Livestock was sold at market. This lifestyle continued until about the late 1940s when electricity arrived in the village and road conditions improved even more. These improvements allowed students to go to school in town. The opening of a public French

[114] J. A. Lévesque, "Extrait du journal personnel de Joseph Alphonse Lévesque," *Paroisse Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1901-2001, Astorville, Ontario* (Astorville, 2002), 1-14. I also read the original versions of his journals which are archived at the Univeristy of Sudbury.
[115] Françoise Noël, *Nipissing: Historic Waterway, Wilderness Playground* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2015); *Paroisse St. Thomas d'Aquin*, 2001; Reed et al., *Astorville – notre chez-nous/Astorville – our home*.

high school in North Bay in 1968[116] also provided new opportunities for students who previously had to pay for their high school education if they wanted it in French. In her interview for the *Astorville Celebrates* project, Marie-Rene Gauthier explains that the generation of children born in the 1960s were really the first to have to leave Astorville because they could not make a living in the community. [117] While I would argue that there had always been a certain amount of people who had been leaving the village to go find work elsewhere, I agree that this period marked a transition in the community's identity. Higher education and a greater exposure to world issues through television, radio, and contact with others also had a significant impact on the community. While Astorville remained predominantly French and Catholic, global events, such as Vatican II in 1965,[118] contributed to altering the mentality of people in the village. With time, there was less and less reliance on the church greatly altering the way the community was governed.

Both the logging industry and the subsequent clearing of land by French settlers drastically altered the landscape around Lake Nosbonsing. In both clear-cutting logs for Booth and for their homes and farms, these European settlers ultimately displaced the Algonquin people who lived, hunted, and fished in this area. While Chapter 4 will discuss the changing landscape in more detail, it is important, to acknowledge in this description of the community I am studying that while Astorville is an area in which settlers ultimately thrived, these gains came at the expense of damage and loss to others. This area was, and continues to be, developed by non-Indigenous people who have benefited from extracting the lands natural resources for personal and/or, economic gain. Though individuals like J. R. Booth, J. A. Lévesque

[116] While the residents of North Bay and the surrounding areas did not have the same struggles as other French language schools in the province of Ontario, l'École bilingue de North Bay, as this school was called, nevertheless opened after much pressure. The history of this school, one of the first French-language high schools in the province, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.
[117] Marie-Rene Gauthier.
[118] Vatican II, formally known as the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, sought to address the relations between the Catholic Church and the modern world. It opened on October 11, 1962 and closed on December 8, 1965. Chapter 2 will look at the socialising and institutional power of the Roman Catholic church for my participants. Chapter 4 will discuss the impact of religion on my participants' foodways.

and Father Astor may be credited in the village's history as influential men able to lead fellow settlers toward progress, this narrative of a valiant pioneering past neglects the role that British and French Canadians played in establishing colonial structures in places like Astorville. Land claims, such as the one for sections of Crown Land within East Ferris, are but one way the inequalities of the past may be rectified in the present or near future. However, by "owning history and accepting [our] ancestor's part in it," [119] we can change our perspective and work toward challenging the existing colonial system and discourse.

Today there are a number of people who move to Astorville because of its proximity to North Bay; they benefit from the rural setting, lower taxes, and a number of services while only being twenty minutes away from work. Astorville is now part of the Township of East Ferris which includes Astorville, Corbeil, and the Hamlet of Derland. East Ferris as a whole boasts a French-Catholic elementary school, and English public elementary school, a grocery store, a library, a fitness centre, a public beach, a number of municipal parks, cross-country ski trails, snowmobile trails, a public daycare, an arena with a curling club, a post office, a fire department, and three community halls. Thus, though rural, Astorville is by no means isolated or isolating.

A reoccurring comment throughout the *Astorville Celebrates* interviews which were conducted between December 2014 and May 2015 was that Astorville's residents have always been accepting and welcoming. This attitude appears to have extended to all individuals no matter their religion or language. While there is no doubt that the Church was an important site of socialising in days past, it was never the only place in which people gathered. The grocery store, the tavern, the school, the outdoor rink, and, later, the arena, were just as important, if not more so, as meeting places in which there were

[119] Mark Aquash, "Relations with First Nations: Decolonization in the Canadian Context," 10 May 2011. *Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. 11 January 2018. https://www.ideas-idees.ca/blog/relations-first-nations-decolonization-canadian-context.

opportunities to exchange ideas and to see family and friends. In these public spaces, participants claimed, language was never a real issue. People either spoke French or English depending on the situation. If anything, there seems to have been more tension among members of the various neighbouring communities. Some talked, for example, of the rivalry between baseball and hockey teams.

I realise that, throughout this paper, Astorville often sounds idyllic. I admit that this is partly due to my own upbringing and the dominant discourse about Astorville I have come to see as a reality. As a child, family connections were highlighted and insisted upon. I was not only told, but also shown, that a family takes care of its own and helps each other out. When possible, we help our neighbours and friends – this was demonstrated to me when people came to help my father out on the farm or when we participated in work bees. At school, these same values and ideas were promoted. We participated in projects that commemorated the physical community by creating a clay mural of the village. This mural is still displayed in the elementary school. In grade eight, my classmates and I went to shovel the driveways and walkways of elderly community members. As we got older, we helped the younger students in the school in various ways. Furthermore, Astorville has always been my "home base." It's where my family gathered for holidays. Even today, with cousins and in-laws spread out over the province, this is where people come to be together.

I am not naïve in thinking that Astorville is perfect. Though I honestly would not notice on a daily basis that there is any tension in the community, Astorville has political issues like any other village. First as a member of the *Astorville Celebrates* committee and again as member of the Library Board, I have overheard and been part of discussions about fairness and equality for French and/or English rights and access to information. I have also seen how policies and procedures that seek to regulate access to certain services have caused people to speak out against rules that prevent municipal organisations from

helping each other out. The need to justify spending and to show a revenue is detrimental to the concept of a community in which the policy is to put people first.

My view of Astorville as idyllic is part of a narrative that has been circulating for a long time and that is shared by others. During my interviews with people for the *Astorville Celebrates* project, it was very clear that, for many, "Astorville" equals "home." It means beauty. It represents comfort. In order to give my reader a sense of how deeply ingrained this narrative is, I have included a series of quotations from these interviews. Participants were asked: "What does Astorville mean to you?" Here are some of their answers:

"C'est encore chez nous. C'est spécial. Ça changé beaucoup mais ça me fais plaisir de voir la place encore. J'ai un attachement. Quand le piquenique vient, je viens aider au bingo encore."[120]

"C'est chez nous. It's our home town. Astorville is everything to me. I like the people here, they're nice. We don't want to move away. We figure someday we'll have to move away but. We almost moved to Sudbury, Toronto, but Astorville is our place. C'est chez nous."[121]

> Astorville c'est ma place de mémoires. C'est ma place où j'ai vécu, j'ai grandi. Ma vie est ici. Je pensais, quand j'avais déménagé à North Bay, de pas jamais revenir à Astorville. I think it was a phase I went through… Mais quand on a construit à Corbeil et que j'ai commence à travailler pour la municipalité, je me sentais comme, I don't know what the words are, but just proud. I was so proud to be back in my community and working in my community… Et je suis tellement contente que Kale peut expériencer être à Astorville. Je ne suis pas une pour vivre à North Bay ou bien dans une ville. I'm just proud to be back. It's quite the memory place.[122]

[120] Claude Robert Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., Aprill 22, 2015.
[121] Charlene Point, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 18, 2015.
[122] Micheline Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 28, 2015.

C'est mon lieu où mes racines ont entré dans la terre. C'est le lieu où j'ai commencé à grandir. "C'est mon village natal. Ça m'a donné un grand respect pour mes ancêtres. Quand je pense à Astorville, c'est mes racines et j'ai beaucoup de respect et de gratitude pour mes ancêtres. J'ai beaucoup de reconnaissance pour ce qu'ils ont fait. Ils ont travaillé fort, ils ont défriché et ils nous ont transmis ça."[123]

> Astorville, c'est la place que j'ai été né et j'ai été formé par la communauté. J'ai fait partie de la communauté et puis en communauté, tout le monde se forme. Disons les plus vieux s'assurent que les plus jeune soient formé, qui aille une succession d'une façon ou d'un autre. Que les forces soient exploités des jeunes… S'assurent, disons, du bienfait de tout le monde. Alors c'est ça qui est une communauté pour moi. C'est le plus fort prend soin du plus faible et puis il n'y a pas de distinction. C'est toute ensemble. J'ai appris beaucoup de ça dans le passé et puis ça m'a porté fruit dans toute ma vie et puis je devrais dire j'essaie de faire la même chose dans d'autre région aussi, dans les autres communautés et puis que nos enfants apprennent la même chose que qu'est-c'qu'on a eu la chance d'apprendre. Malheureusement les époques ont changé. On peut seulement leurs en parler mais des fois on vient à bout de s'en montrer certaines choses… Mais Astorville pour moi, c'est une place qu'on se rencontre et puis tu rencontres tes amis encore du passé. Tu vas au magasin, tu rencontres toujours quelqu'un avec un sourire et puis on se souvient des temps qu'on a eu ensemble dans le passé ainsi de suite. Tu vois le temps changer autour de toi mais le monde que tu connais c'est encore ce monde là. Astorville, c'est chez moi.[124]

"Home. Our friends are here. It's not the same; your facilities, you're closer, transportation is much better. It takes me in the morning, 10 minutes to get to Seymour Street and it takes me 10 minutes

[123] Marie-Claire Vignola, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 18, 2015.
[124] Paul-Marie Girard, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 18, 2015.

from Seymour Street up to the store. Even Todd has told me, now he's been out West in Calgary mostly, and he said a few years ago, he said, 'You know Dad, I miss home.' I said, 'Oh you mean Astorville?' And he says, 'Well ya!'"[125]

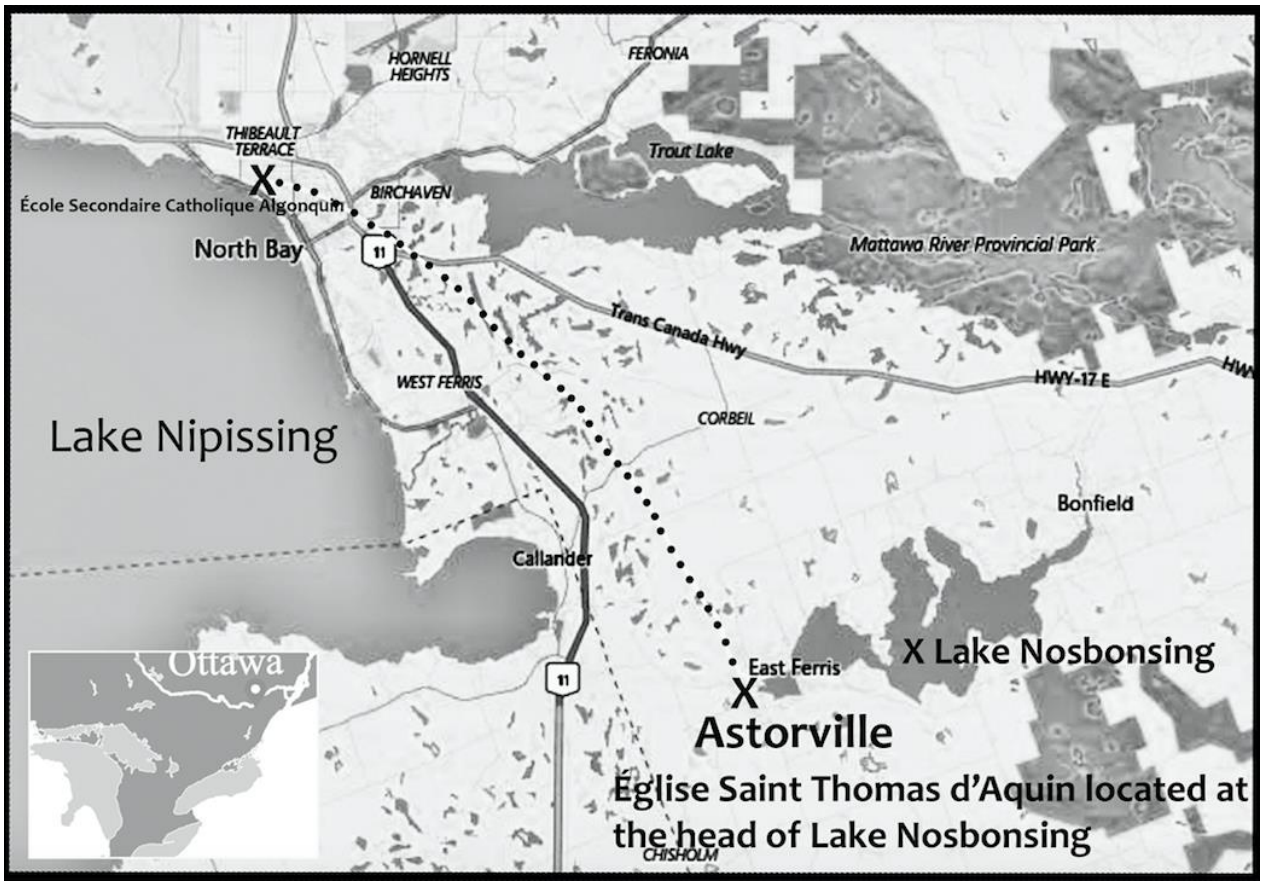
> À Astorville, on est vraiment chanceux de vivre dans une communauté avec tellement de beauté de nature. On a une communauté où qui a plein de services autour de nous autres. Pas tout le monde on un petit village avec un magasin générale, une quincaillerie, on a l'église, on a une école française, un centre communautaire, des cours de tennis, le lac. Y'a tellement à vivre dans notre communauté. On est à 15 minutes de North Bay, trois heures et demi de Toronto ou Ottawa. J'peux dire vraiment on vit vraiment dans un paradis. Le monde sont gentils. Le monde qui déménage à Astorville je trouve c'est souvent du monde avec les mêmes sortes de valeur que nous autres pour nos enfants. Ça nous donne un p'tit goût du paradis.[126]

This narrative of Astorville as not only "home" but also "paradise" is clearly embedded within the community. Many believe that Astorville is still "une communauté française, *close knit*."[127] This is despite the fact that the census shows that the number of French-as-mother-tongue speakers has fallen and despite the fact that "y'a bien des étrangers… Y'a encore bien du monde de la place qui demeure ici. Les noms changent quand elles se marient mais c'est les mêmes familles. La communauté supporte son monde."[128] The power of this narrative, we will see in the following chapters, still influences my participants' definitions of themselves and of the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture to which they see themselves belonging. Given that the community was first established by a tightknit group of interrelated and closely connected individuals and that it maintained its homogenous nature for almost

[125] Ted Jones, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 29, 2015.
[126] Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., May 2, 2015.
[127] Daniel Contant, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., April 29, 2015.
[128] Daniel Contant.

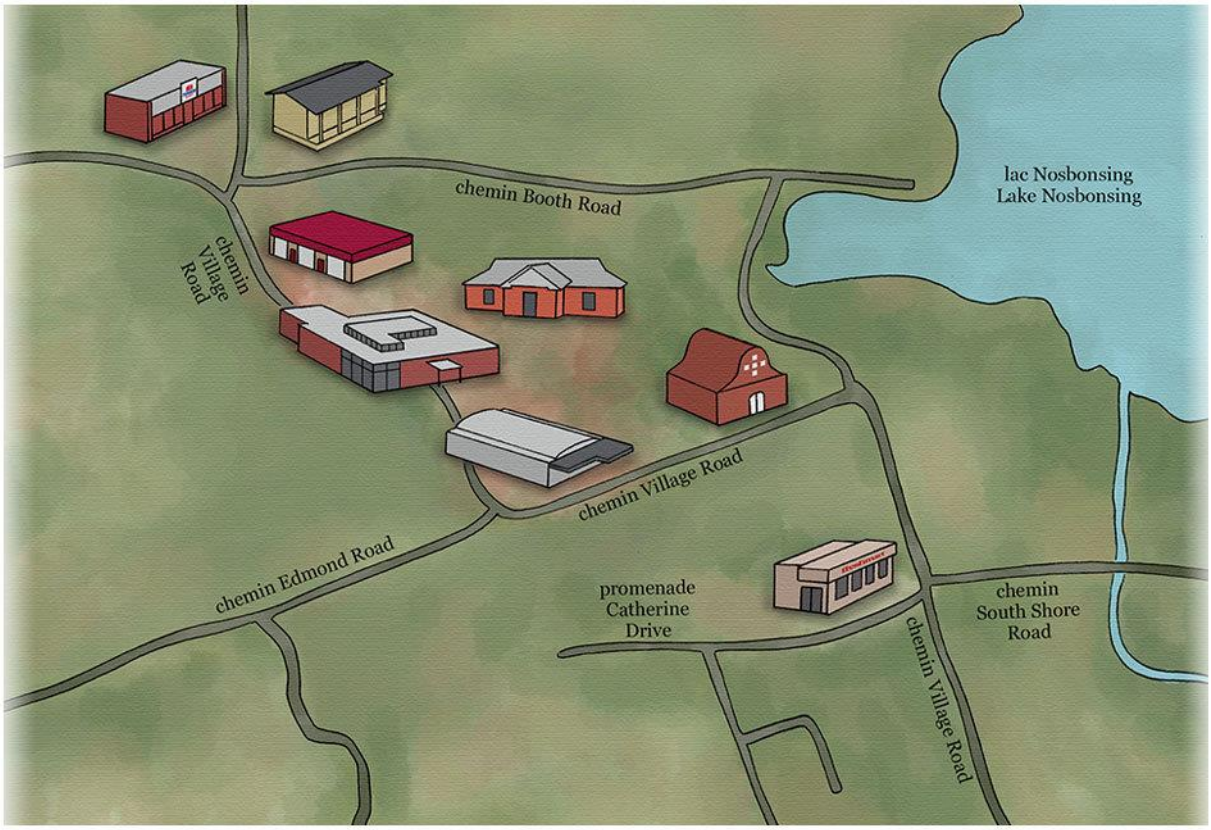
half a century, this project seeks to better understand the extent to which these ideas still exert an influence on the community's identity as a French-Canadian place and on the French-Canadian traditions within it.

Map 1 situates Astorville within Northern Ontario and also indicates École secondaire catholique Algonquin, an important landmark in North Bay, Ontario. Map 2 is a more detailed, though not to scale, map of Astorville that was prepared by Raphael Duschesne for the Virtual Walking Tour portion of the *Astorville Celebrates* project.



Map 1: Astorville within Northern Ontario, 2017[129]

[129] This map was created by Carmen Weiskopf in August 2017. The map of Ontario is an image purchased from iStock and the smaller map of Astorville and North Bay is from Google Maps.



Map 2: Astorville, Ontario, 2016[130]

1.5. Participants

As the discussion of the various disciplines above demonstrates, this project juxtaposes secondary data with the primary data collected from the interviews with sixty-one people. To really appreciate and understand how families evolve over time, I interviewed as many members of the same family as I could, making sure to also study as many different generations within those families as possible. Given Astorville's history, I felt it was necessary to primarily interview founding families as I felt their evolutions would be most telling of how families, especially close-knit ones, exert a certain

[130] This map was created by Raphael Duschesne for the Virtual Walking Tour part of the *Astorville Celebrates* project in 2016. The map and the tour can be found at www.astorvilleenfete.com. The images, from top left to bottom right are: Perron Timber-Mart, the Anglers and Hunters Assotiation, the fire hall, the East Ferris Public Library, École élémentaire catholique St. Thoms d'Aquin, the East Ferris Community Centre, Église St. Thomas d'Aquin, Perron's Freshmart.

influence on their members. That these families have similar backgrounds, values, language, and religious beliefs means that they all began their lives in Astorville with a shared culture.

Finding participants was relatively easy as many of the first people I interviewed were family members or friends. Through "snowball sampling," these initial participants were helpful in suggesting other family members who met my selection criteria. However, I did face one challenge raised by the ethics review process that was difficult to overcome in terms of finding participants. As a teacher at the French, Catholic high school, my position of authority and influence made all students of École secondaire catholique Algonquin off limits. Though the ethics committee did not impose it, I also did my best to avoid questioning parents of students at the school where I teach. As most of the students from Astorville's founding families go to Algonquin, this decision hindered my ability to access a key age cohort. Even so, I feel that the sixty-one people I did talk to provide a nuanced perspective.

Another barrier to finding participants was the topic. While they may not be making these foods themselves, there is no doubt that common to all the participants is an interest in making and/or eating food. It often happened that the people I contacted declined because they were embarrassed that they are not upholding traditions or because they do not cook or bake. Despite trying to convince everyone that these stories are also very important and crucial to understanding the evolution of our foodways, these insecurities were certainly a barrier for some. When people were not comfortable making food for me, in other words participating in the culinary chat portion of the interview process, they only participated in the semi-structured part. This was the case for 28 people. Of the remaining thirty-three, 21 did both parts and 12, mostly children, only did the second part. Table 1: Participation Status provides a list of who participated in each type of interview. [131]

[131] Though I tried very hard to ask everyone all the same questions, not everyone answered all the question. In following chapters, for example in Chapter 4, not everyone talked about gardening. The percentages in subsequent

Table 1: Participation Status		
Both the Semi-Structured Interview and the Culinary Chat	Amanda Beaudry, Eve Beaudry, France Carroll, Laurette Dégagné, Megan Frédérick, Paul-Marie Girard, Danny Harris, André Laperrière, Lucie Laperrière, Laure Larocque, Lisa Loeffen, Jessica Perron, Rhéal Perron, Coralie Rochefort, Marielle Rochefort, Patrick Rochefort, Rhéaume Rochefort, Carmen Weiskopf, David Weiskopf, Natalie Weiskopf, Lydia Weiskopf-Tran	21
Only the Semi-Structured Interview	Yvonne Buckner, Nathalie Boucher, Aline Coote, Cole Dégagné, Hailly Dégagné, Micheline Dégagné, Patrice Dégagné, Stacy Dégagné, Jack Ecker, Brienne Kearns, Suzanne Kearns, Natasha Krauss, Pascal Laperrière, Sylvie Laperrière, Sophie Laperrière, Jennifer Laporte, Yvette Loeffen, Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Jean-Pierre Perron, Leantha Perron, Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx, Michel Perron, Bernard Rochefort, Pauline Rochefort, Robert Rochefort, Eric Roy, Cody Tran, Missy Trudel	28
Only the Culinary Chat	Chloé Alkins, Christine Alkins, Dale Alkins, Gabrielle Alkins, Karena Ball, Krysten Ball, Carl Beaudry, Fabianne Beaudry, Olivier Beaudry, Raymond Dégagné, Magali Morin, Garrett Tran	12

The following will introduce the history of the larger families from which I interviewed specific members. While a detailed family tree is not possible, I hope to highlight here the common and intertwined heritage my participants share.[132] Table 2: Interview Participants by Age Cohort, which follows the brief explanation of my participants, illustrates who belongs to which age cohort.

1.5.1. Buckners

Joseph Buckner arrived in Chisholm with his wife Rosanna Tremblay in 1910 from St-Elphège in central Québec. Joseph Buckner was a farmer and trapper. I interviewed four generations of Buckner women: Yvonne Buckner (née Pilon in 1919) was married to Joseph and Rosanna's son, Albert. I also interviewed two of her daughters' families. The first was Yvette Loeffen, her daughter Lisa Loeffen and

tables have thus been calculated based on how many people answered the question and not how many are in each specific age cohort.

[132] The information about each of these families comes from *Paroise Saint-Thomas-D'Aquin 1902-2002*. The information has been paraphrased and translated from the original French text. I have included dates of arrival in Astorville, marriage, and/or birth when I could.

granddaughter Magali Morin. The second was Laurette Dégagné. Her daughters Amanda and Christine along will their spouses (Raymond Dégagné, Dale Alkins, and Carl Beaudry) and children (Gabrielle Alkins, Chloé Alkins, Eve Beaudry, Fabianne Beaudry, and Olivier Beaudry) all participated on some level.

1.5.2. Dégagnés

Épiphane Dégagné came to Astorville with his wife Olivine (née Tremblay) from Île-aux-Coudres, Québec. He remarried in Astorville in 1878 to Geneviève Boudreault after Olivine passed away. I interviewed his great-grandson Patrice Dégagné, his wife Stacy (née Kelly) and their two children Hailly and Cole. His father is Paddy Dégagné. I also interviewed Épiphane's great-granddaughters Micheline Dégagné and Amanda Beaudry (see above) whose fathers Louis and Raymond are Paddy Dégagné's brother. While Raymond, Paddy, and Louis did not live in Astorville as children, they often came to the family cottage which was on Lake Nosbonsing. This remains a tradition for Pat and Stacy who have a cottage on the lake they use in the summer as a retreat from Deep River.[133] Stacy's family also used to vacation on the lake. Her grandparents had a cottage they came to every summer from Hamilton and her parents have since made it their permanent residence. Micheline still lives in Astorville. Amanda lives in Callander. Christine lives in Corbeil.

Importantly, Micheline's father married Lucille Laferrière, daughter of another one of the area's founding families. The Laferrières' ancestor Dieudonné (Dan) was born in 1828 in St. Cuthbert. A reputed traveller, he moved around the country and into Vermont doing wood work. Called to the area by his son Stanislaus, he and his wife retired in the area in 1892. Similarly, Pat's father, Paddy Dégagné, married into another one of the founding families. Pat's mother, Lorraine, is the daughter of Théophile Cantin

[133] Pat and Stacy Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.

and Lucienne Perron. The Cantins came from St.-Tite-des-Caps in 1912 and Lucienne's family, the Perrons, stems from les Éboulements.

Girards

The Girards come from St. Irénée and settled in Chisholm. I interviewed Paul-Marie Girard, grandson of Alex Girard who arrived in 1900. The Girards were farmers and, in later years, important in the dairy industry. Paul-Marie now teaches hunting and firearm safety courses in and around the area.

Laperrières

From Montreal, François Laperrière arrived in 1900. I interviewed his grandson, André Laperrière and André's two children, Pascal and Sophie. I interviewed his wife Lucie Laperrière (née Rochefort). I also interviewed two of François' other great-grandchildren: Cody Tran, whose grandmother, Victoria Laporte (née Laperrière) was François' granddaughter. I also interviewed Sylvie Laperrière whose father, Donald Laperrière, was François' great-grandson.

Perrons

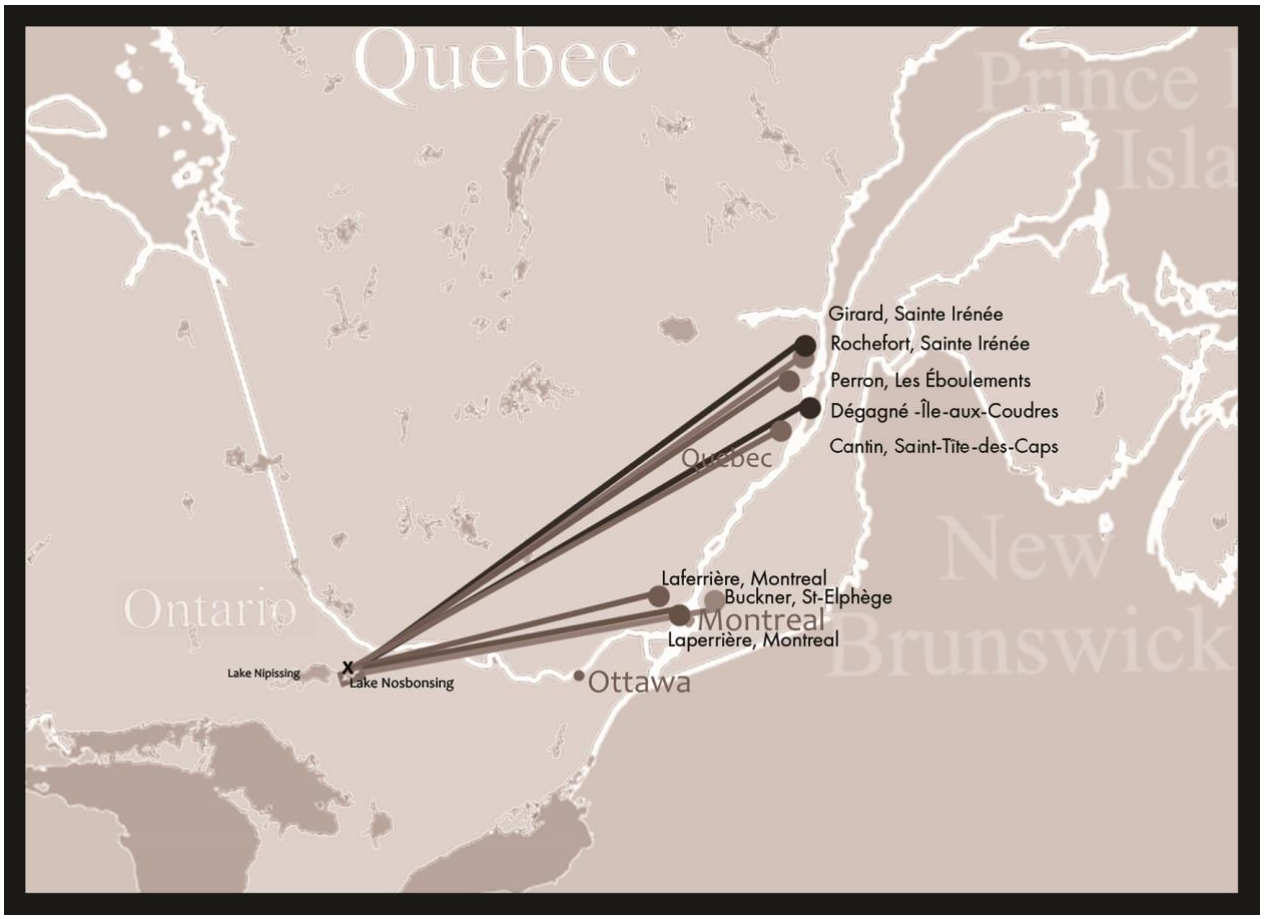
The first Perrons to arrive in Astorville came in 1889. Charles and Rose-Délima (née Rochefort) had five children in the village. Rhéal Perron, whom I interviewed, is one of Charles' and Rose-Délima's grandchildren. His father was Henri. I interviewed Aline Coote (née Perron) whose father, Adrien, was Henri's son. Michel Perron and Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx are Henri's grandchildren. Their father was Camille Perron. Of Henri's great-grandchildren, I interviewed Jean-Pierre Perron, his wife Leantha (née Crawford), as well as France Carroll (née Perron). Jean-Pierre's and France's father was Louis, son of Adrien Perron. I also interviewed Jessica Perron and Natasha Krauss (née Perron) – both descendants of Charles and Rose-Délima.

Rocheforts

Like the Perrons, the Rocheforts also came from les Éboulements. Joseph and Caroline came with their three children Damien, Célina, and, my great-grandfather Adjutor in 1888. Most of the Rocheforts I interviewed stem from Adjutor's son Bernard's line: Bernard Rochefort, Suzanne Kearns and her daughter and son-in-law, Brienne Kearns and Jack Ecker; Pauline Rochefort, Rhéaume Rochefort as well as his three children Coralie, Patrick, and Marielle, as well as his future daughter-in-law, Megan Frederick; and Lucie Laperrière (mentioned above) and her two children (also mentioned above). I also interviewed my mother, Carmen (Rochefort) Weiskopf, and my siblings and their spouses: Natalie Weiskopf and Danny Harris, Lydia Weiskopf-Tran and Cody Tran, and David Weiskopf and Laure Larocque. My and Lydia's children (Karena Ball, Krysten Ball, and Garrett Tran) participated in a food-making interview. I did also interview a few other Rocheforts who are descendants of Adjutor: his great-grandson Eric Roy and Eric's girlfriend Missy Trudel as well as another great-grandson, Robert Rochefort. I also interviewed Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Adjutor's oldest living daughter, who now lives just outside of Ottawa.

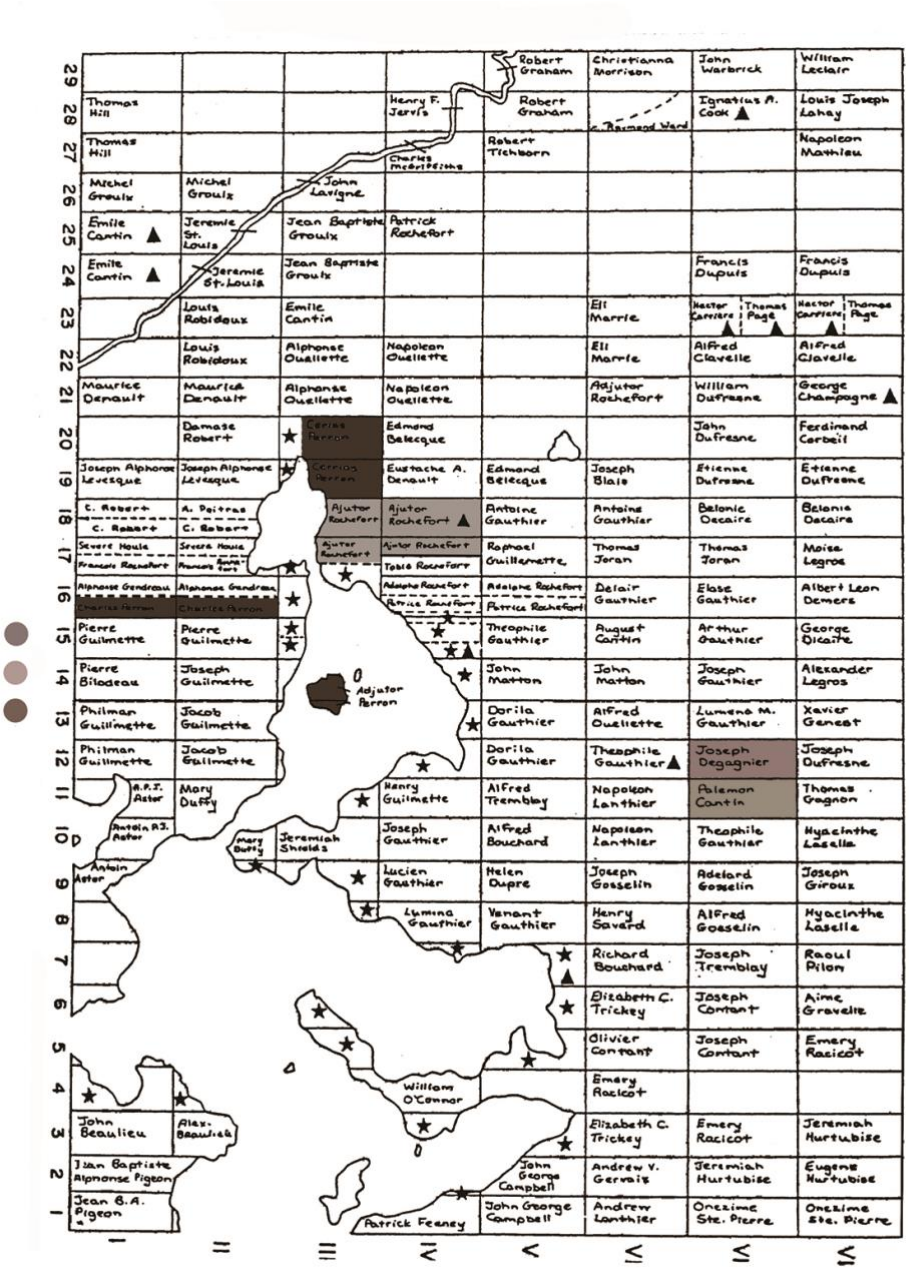
Table 2: Interview Participants by Age Cohort	
	Other
Born between 1920-1939	Yvonne Buckner, Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Bernard Rochefort, Rhéal Perron
Born between 1940-1959	Laurette Dégagné, Raymond Dégagné, Paul-Marie Girard, Suzanne Kearns, Yvette Loeffen, Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx, Michel Perron, Pauline Rochefort, Carmen Weiskopf
Born between 1960-1969	Aline Coote, André Laperrière, Lucie Laperrière, Rhéaume Rochefort
Born between 1970-1979	Christine Alkins, Dale Alkins, Amanda Beaudry, Carl Beaudry, Nathalie Boucher, Micheline Dégagné, Patrice Dégagné, Stacy Dégagné, Danny Harris, Jennifer Laporte, Lisa Loeffen
Born between 1980-1989	France Carroll, Jack Ecker, Brienne Kearns, Natasha Krauss, Sylvie Laperrière, Jean-Pierre Perron, Leantha Perron, Coralie Rochefort, Robert Rochefort, Eric Roy, Cody Tran, Missy Trudel, Natalie Weiskopf, David Weiskopf, Lydia Weiskopf-Tran,
Born between 1990-1999	Megan Frédérick, Pascal Laperrière, Laure Larocque, Jessica Perron, Marielle Rochefort, Patrick Rochefort
Born between 2000-present	Chloé Alkins, Gabrielle Alkins, Karena Ball, Krysten Ball, Eve Beaudry, Fabianne Beaudry, Olivier Beaudry, Hailly Dégagné, Cole Dégagné, Eve Beaudry, Sophie Laperrière, Magali Morin, Garrett Tran

Map 3: Cities of Quebecois Origins by Family illustrates the places of origin of these founding families. This map was compiled by Carmen Weiskopf using the information provided above. Map 4: Settlement of Astorville shows the various parcels of land that were settled by Astorville's founding families. This map was created in 2001 by the committee that was formed to commemorate the centennial of St. Thomas d'Aquin Parish, the local Catholic church. Map 5: Settlement of Chisholm Township was also created and included in the book for the centennial of St. Thomas d'Aquin Parish. Though Chisholm Township had its own Catholic church, the parish boundary for St. Thomas d'Aquin included the residents up to and comprising of the sixteenth concession of Chisholm. These children also went to school in Astorville. Thus, I have chosen to include the Laperrière, Laporte, and Girard families in my study though they technically lived in Chisholm.



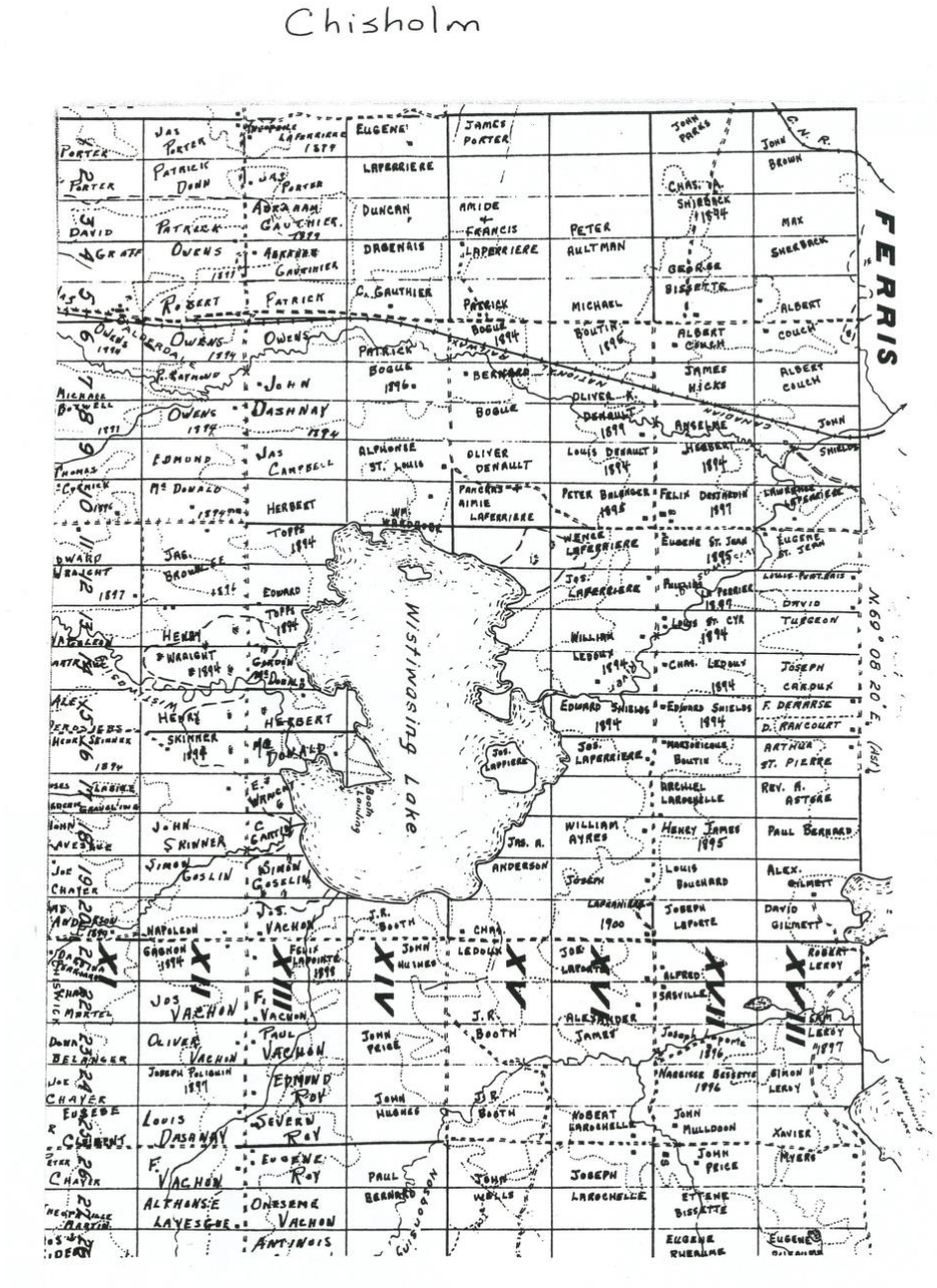
Map 3: Cities of Quebecois Origins by Family, 2017[134]

[134] *Paroisse St. Thomas d'Aquin*, 2001.



Map 4: Settlement of Astorville, 2001[135]

[135] *Paroisse St. Thomas d'Aquin*, 2001. Note that North is to the right rather than the top of the map.



Map 5: Settlement of Chisholm Township, 2001[136]

[136] *Paroisse St. Thomas d'Aquin*, 2001. Note that North is to the right rather than the top of the map.

Reflection 1

"Do you think you'll be able to get away with it?" my friend asks, as we shuffle our way through the crowded coffee shop to an empty table in the back corner.

"What do you mean, 'Get away with it?'" I answer confused. I've just finished telling her about my tourtière experience. They were for sure less dry but so far, three months later, half of them are still sitting in the freezer. With the warmer weather coming, I doubt they'll resurface. Meat pie is more of a winter food in my opinion, not something I see myself pulling out in the spring.

"I mean the story part of your paper. You know, the idea of there being made up characters and a narrative. It doesn't sound very academic." She plops into the padded, leather booth and shuffles herself down the bench. "Aren't you worried it'll take away for the seriousness of the rest of it?"

"Yes," I answer tossing my bag into the corner of my own bench. "Of course I am. My interdisciplinary program is already considered fluffy by some academics. Not everyone agrees that combining disciplines makes for rigorous research. Adding this autoethnography on top of that sometimes feels like a second strike against me and the efforts I'm trying to make."

"Fluffy?"

"Yeah. I had a professor from another university actually use that word when she asked about my program."

"So why then? Wouldn't it be easier to keep it out?"

"Because," I grin. "All these people have let me interview them and put them in the spotlight, it would feel unethical to leave myself out of it. Besides, whether others want to admit it

or not, all writing and all research is somewhat autobiographical. It all comes from a personal interest, a passion, or a frustration."

"So you're gonna bare your soul to the world? Won't people find that you're just full of yourself?"

"Well, the point is not to be. The point is to use the reflection as a way to focus on the problematic parts of what people have said and to show the thinking process. By showing the process, I can highlight the tensions that exist between 'official' or 'master' narratives, the version we've come to expect and know, and actual experiences. For example, Karena came home the other day with her balancier compensateur."

"Her balan-what?"

"Her balancier compensateur. It's an activity they have students do at school. It's a blank scale and students are given another sheet with images of activities they are to cut out and glue onto the scale. On the left-hand side of the scale you put all the activities and places you go where you speak French and on the right, you put all the places and activities where you don't speak French."

"So?"

"Look at it," I say, pulling the picture up on my phone. "When she got home, the only thing she had on the French side was church and the family supper picture. We hardly ever go to church! And she put the school picture on the English side! She only moved it after I asked her if her teachers were suddenly teaching in English."

"That's funny," my friend chuckles. I move my phone out of the way as the waitress arrives with our drinks and brownie.

“It’s frustrating,” I answer picking up my spoon and playing with the whipped cream on my hot chocolate. “She barely speaks any English and, according to this, you’d think she was barely exposed to any French. But, she also wasn’t allowed to put pictures on the middle line. Like music and TV. The girls watch Mini TFO and they have a lot of French songs on their playlists since they got back from Café chantant and since discovering Kids United. Plus, she put the bigger family picture on the English side because they speak English at my parents’ when my dad’s around. That makes me mad. We speak mostly French there. I get that it’s a tool and it’s supposed to make us aware of how much English there is in the world, but it’s not accurate if people can’t place items in the middle and it seems, at such a young age, to enforce a message that paints English as bad. Rather than celebrating bilingualism.”

“But what does that have to do with your project?”

“Well. Like you. You speak English at work and with your husband but then French with your kids. Why? Why not just always speak English? Why send them to French school?”

“I don’t know. I can’t really explain it. It’s important for them to know French. It’s good for job opportunities and because it’s part of who I am. I want them to have that part too. There’s just something about the French parts of my life that’s special. That I’d feel empty without. But I know what you mean about the conflict between French and English. Last week, I was at a course with some friends and we were speaking French, cause that’s just what we do when we’re together. So even if the course was in English, during the breaks we would talk to each other in French and a person on the other side of the table kept rolling her eyes at us as if we were being rude. When I got home I told Jim about it and he said, ‘Yeah! You were being rude. French people don’t get that talking French is public is super rude!’ I was just shocked. Who cares what we were talking about? We were talking to each other! When it was with the whole group we always spoke English. I’m sure if we had been talking Japanese or Italian, it would

have been fine but there's this tension between French and English. It's like you can't be both and move between the two. It's like an all or nothing – at school with the kids it has to be all French – and in other places, if there's an Anglophone in the room, it has to be all English."

"Exactly. That's what I'm trying to get at. I know there have to be French zones if people are going to learn to speak French. You can't learn a language unless you practice it and so part of me hates that the girls have learnt to speak English at school since it's supposed to be a French zone. On the other hand, I'm also glad that they're learning it there because we *do* only speak French at home. To be bilingual you have to be exposed to the other language twenty to thirty percent of your day. That's a lot and a little bit of TV at night and a bedtime story isn't enough for them to learn to speak English properly. But then again, we speak French at home. Not everyone does and so maybe I don't feel a need to fight as hard because I take it for granted. Both you and I grew up in bilingual houses though and turned out speaking decent French, right?"

"Well, decent. It depends on if decent is enough. Admit it, we don't speak good French. More of a Franglais."

"Yeah. And that bothers me too. Why is our regional French so frowned upon! English people speak with accents and expressions and that's okay. Every other language on the planet adopts English words. In fact, the French in France say *le weekend* and other English words, but Canadian French people can't speak with an accent or with English words because they come off as uneducated."

We both paused a moment as I unwind. I plunk my spoon down and sigh.

"I don't want to be angry in my paper. When I started, I didn't think I was being political. I didn't think I was doing more than exploring. But since I started, I've seen my daughters enter

school and I've seen the way language really affects people's relationships. The other day Karena said she wanted to stop violin lessons because she said she doesn't understand the teacher. I was just floored! I mean she plays in English all the time. She talks English to people all the time. It's not the first time she's had this sort of reaction. When she's nervous or shy, she has a hard time with the language barrier. That hurts as a mother. I don't want to see my daughter suffer. I want life to be easy for her. I want her to speak French because it's part of her heritage and because it's good to know more than language. But when language becomes a barrier rather than a tool, it's hard to keep up a habit I know worked out in the end for me. It's hard to keep speaking French at times and not to give in to the pressure to put more emphasis on English. I can't deny I have internalised a 'dominant discourse' that says: 'English is important! Make sure your kids can speak good English!'"

My friend looks up at me and hesitates before taking another sip of her coffee. She pauses again, holding her cup firmly between both hands.

"Growing up it was hard. Sometimes. When we were at my grandparents. Everyone was speaking French and I know my mom didn't understand anything. I felt for her. So I'd try to change the conversation around to English or go talk to her."

"I know what you mean," I answer thinking back to some of my own childhood memories. "Other people have shared stories like that too. Being at parties, for example, and everyone talking French and their parent didn't understand. People even refusing to speak English when a parent was right there. Purposely keeping the person out of the conversation. Some of my participants told me they stopped attending family functions because they felt so excluded."

"As a kid, it's hard to see a parent go through that. It makes you kind of angry. Turns you off a little. I remember one uncle in particular. He just refused to switch. Said my mother could figure it out. She had married into a French family. Sometimes I felt that way too. Why didn't my

mom learn some French? Sometimes I felt my uncle was way out of line. I mean, why would she have to learn a new language as an adult? I don't remember my parents ever fighting but there were some heated conversations a few times after we came back from a family gathering. My mom wanted my dad to stand up for her and he wouldn't. Or felt he couldn't? At the time, it seemed to me that he could do more for her but, looking back on it now, I realise it isn't easy to try to communicate those sorts of feelings to your parents and siblings. How do you start a conversation that will ultimately go: 'Mom. Dad. You're alienating my partner and she doesn't like coming here.' I mean I think my mom enjoyed the visits when she knew what was going on. And most people were sympathetic. You'd hear someone cough or nod their head toward her if the conversation didn't switch automatically."

"Yeah. And then you become a parent yourself and you struggle again because it's important and you know there has to be a certain amount of a militant attitude but, at the same time, you don't want to lose anyone over it either. Like with my dad right now. I'm so used to speaking French with the girls that I sometimes forget to switch when he comes into the room. I also sometimes resent having to change languages for him when he's not part of the conversation I'm having with the girls or if it's just to give a simple instruction. That balance is trickier to achieve than those who write about assimilation and language rights let on. It makes me think of this one interview I just did. It was with this person who was a staunch advocate for language rights. Has fought his whole life to protect the language and I really see him as this pillar of strength, a backbone, for the French community. I expected a passionate interview about the gains French people have made over the years and pride in the work he'd done. But he seemed defeated about the state of French in Astorville. He'd given up hope. He told me, in fact, that French would be the next language to be eliminated from the planet."

"Really! I look at Astorville and I see so much French. More than when I was a kid. I see a school that's overflowing."

“French books and programming at the library.”

“Kids’ coaches who can and do speak French.”

“Exactly. So I don’t know why others don’t see that. They look at the census data and see that the French population isn’t what it used to be, which it isn’t, and they become alarmed. But I think of my mother and father, she would have put English as the language most spoken at home on the last census. Now that we’re gone, that’s true. But it doesn’t account for the fact that the household is still half French and that when we’re all over, there’s more French being spoken than English. On our census, I put French but I don’t really know if that’s true since Will and I talk English once the girls are in bed. I’ve asked some of my participants that same question and I get similar answers. So I don’t find that the census is accurate.”

“Maybe it has to do with distance,” my friend suggests putting her coffee cup down and picking up her fork to cut off a piece of the brownie. “I mean,” she continues as she stops her fork that’s come half way up to her mouth, “we’re lucky to live when we live. French-English relationships haven’t always been this automatic. English parents weren’t sending their children to French school when we were kids so they would have job opportunities. When our parents were kids even less. I know there was a lot of bullying and discrimination when they were in school. And our grandparents!”

“That’s a really good point,” I agree reaching for my own fork. “There was a time when French people were not just considered inferior but actually mentally deficient and uncivilised. I can’t imagine being told that it’s illegal to learn French in school or be fired for speaking French at work. It sounds so foreign.”

“So maybe when you get those staunch supporters who have worked their whole lives to fight for something that people take for granted, there is some bitterness there. I know you didn’t

say bitter," she adds quickly seeing the look that shoots across my face, "but disappointment that people aren't working harder to be more publicly engaged."

I finish my bite of brownie before continuing. "I do take it for granted that I can speak both. That my children can speak both. I honestly didn't even consider that this was still really an issue until *Astorville en fête* last year."

"What do you mean?"

"Well, that started as a way to celebrate the school before it closed. The building, the teachers, the students. But as the project evolved, it took on some really political elements. Like there was an official declaration of Astorville as a bilingual community. The mayor officially recognised the French. To me that seemed not only unnecessary but also stirring up issues and maybe even fuelling a fire that has long been out."

"Out? Or dormant? You haven't had any issues but that doesn't mean others haven't. You don't care about paying your taxes in French, for example."

"Yeah. You're right. I don't. Because I don't understand the super official French terms. I know them better in English."

"Right. So your perspective is limited and biased."

"Right. But the political did become real for me when we were dealing with the printer for the walking tour. She wanted to cut out the French text in a few places to make the layout easier for her. She told me that French people can read English so they'd be okay. That made me mad. The point of the map was to be bilingual! So, though I'd never felt that way in Astorville, I know that that dismissive mentality is still there. I know it's in Astorville though it's not prominent."

"I've felt that way in Astorville," my friend answers.

"You have?"

"Of course. I've been on committees and at functions where people have raised concerns about preferences for either French or English programming and activities. People afraid that the French students in Astorville are given preferential treatment over the Anglophones ones in Corbeil or vice versa. Or refusal to participate in some activities in Astorville because they aren't done in French so parents go to North Bay instead. You paint life in Astorville as being pretty rosy and easy but you've never really pushed at the status quo. Some will argue when they read your paper that you're the perfect example of someone who has internalised exactly what the Anglophone centre wants you to believe – that you've lost sight of the bigger issue. Francophones have their own schools but the kids don't play there in French. There are programs in French, but there are more in English. You say it's all okay, people can switch back and forth, but the truth is they can't always. Not without forcing an issue. Not without sticking out."

I can't say anything for a minute. "Wow! That hurts," I think to myself as I look up at the lights to keep the tears out of my eyes. Am I really coming across that biased? "I'm super proud of my French heritage. It's really important for me that my kids speak French. I'm so happy to work in a French school and"

"STOP!" my friend says loudly interrupting me. "I don't think anyone will dispute your pride or that you care. All I'm saying is that in your presentation of 'reality' don't forget to do exactly what you are setting out to do. Be sure to question these assumptions and be mindful of the ones you take for granted. Your experience, combined with that of others, can show Astorville. I agree that there is very little contention in Astorville and it sounds like your participants said the same thing. Just remember that not everyone will agree with you."

“My goal isn’t to blindly push my perspective forward. I want to acknowledge my own compliance.”

“Are you willing to admit and accept that it’s not just politicians and people who are strong advocates for language rights who make people feel their French isn’t good enough?”

“You mean the fact that I have also been guilty of switching to English when the person I’m talking to seems to be struggling?”

“Exactly.”

“I am. I don’t want to think that I’m part of the problem but I know I am. As much as I’m mad when I speak French to a Francophone and the person insists on speaking English to me, I know I’ve done that to people who have spoken to me in a French with a heavy English accent. So yes. My goal is to question these ideas and assumptions. I need to show my own shortcomings or else my story won’t be critical. It’s true that this project is ultimately a version of the truth. If I were to interview these people in ten years, their views may have changed. I know that I had different views ten years ago. Definitions of self and of culture are constantly in flux.”

“Good. That’s important.”

“But my ultimate goal is to move the discussion away from language to see the other items that define us as a culture. I feel we too often get hung up on language without considering the importance of other aspects we identify with.”

“It’s complicated,” my friend says, pausing.

“It is,” I agree. “But see, these stories, these examples, these emotions are really important to understanding what it means to be French-Canadian.”

“Or Franco-Ontarian. You keep using that term but I wouldn’t say I’m French-Canadian. I say Franco-Ontarian even if I don’t know why I care about the difference.”

“Sorry. You’re right. But, you know, I can’t share these emotions in the more academic discussion parts of my paper. They don’t fit properly. They seem forced.”

“Yeah. I see what you mean. I read your first chapter. It’s pretty heavy for a non-academic,” she says winking. “All that theory and those references to the literature. Not exactly light reading!”

Chapter 2: Fight. Flight. Or Frogs in the Headlights: Understanding the Evolution of French-Canadians and Franco-Ontarians

According to *Le Grand dictionnaire terminologique de l'office québecois de la langue française*, Francophones are those who are part of "l'ensemble des populations dont le français constitue la langue officielle de leur pays, ou encore pour lesquelles cette langue est significative pour des raisons historiques ou culturelles."[137] In "Franco-Ontariens," Paul-François Sylvestre asserts that "[l]e terme 'Franco-Ontarien' est synonyme de 'Canadien français.[138]'" Eight year old Eve Beaudry tells me, "Je viens du Canada. Je viens de l'Ontario dedans le Canada. Je viens de Callander. Je parle en français." "Donc un Canadien-français?" her mother asks. "Ou Franco-Ontarien?" I ask. "Les deux," she replies.[139]

This chapter explores the question of what it means to be Franco-Ontarian and/or French-Canadian in northeastern Ontario. In the first section, "Fight," I trace the history of French immigrants into Canada and, subsequently, from Quebec into the province of Ontario. An overview of larger context is useful to juxtapose the experiences of the specific study area.

The second section, "Flight," will look at the ways in which the French-speaking residents of Ontario and Astorville have not only changed over time but also how these Ontarians have distanced themselves from Quebec. This section will therefore look at the root causes for this separation by showing that the evolution in their social and economic realities contributed to creating distinct, French-speaking groups.

Finally, the last section in this chapter questions whether we are ultimately "Frogs in the Headlights." This section contrasts two types of worldviews – the dominant discourse from those who

[137] Statistiques Canada, *Le français et la francophonie au Canada* (2013), 1.
[138] Paul-François Sylvestre. « Franco-Ontariens » 2 February 2016. *encyclopediecanadienne.ca* Accessed April 17, 2017.
[139] Eve and Amanda Beaudry, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.

are concerned that French will be the next language to become extinct with the attitude and conviction of others that the language will continue to live on. This project does not seek to make a judgement about linguistic quality and, importantly, does not aim to debate the merit of certain language practices over others. Rather, this project, and this chapter specifically, explore how my participants define what it means to be French-Canadian and/or Franco-Ontarian. As the labels imply, language is a key, undeniable part of the definition and so it is a logical place to start an analysis of what it means to be French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian at this time. This chapter highlights current language practices and beliefs to show what it is about the language that individuals value.

2.1. Fight

2.1.1. Ties with Quebec

Works that study the evolution of French-Canadians, such as Marcel Martel's *Le deuil d'un pays imaginé: Rêves, luttes et déroutes du Canada français*, Yves Frenette's *Brève histoire des Canadiens français*, Michael D. Behiels' *Canada's Francophone Minority Communities*, and Martin Pâquet's *Langue et politique au Canada et au Québec: Une synthèse historique*, are important to the historiography of French-Canadian studies.[140] Without an understanding of how French-Canadians fit within the larger Canadian historical and political context, as well as understanding the specific issues that have put pressure on French-speaking Canadians to distinguish themselves from other Canadians, it would be impossible to paint a full picture or gain a thorough understanding of what motivates contemporary individuals.

Indeed, Francophones have a long history in Canada and in Ontario. French colonists arrived in Canada in 1608 with Samuel de Champlain and Étienne Brûlé. By the mid 1600s, the French were a

[140] Marcel Martel, *Le deuil d'un pays imaginé: Rêves, lutes et déroutes du Canada français: Les rapports entre le Québec et la francophonie canadienne (1867-1975)* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1997); Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens-français* (Montréal: Boréal, 1998); and Michael D. Behiels, *Canada's Francophone Minority Communities: Constitutional Renewal and the Winning of School Governance, 1960-2000*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

dominant force in what is now northern North America. In fact, by then their area of influence ranged from the east coast, north to the Hudson Bay, west to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and south to Detroit and beyond.[141] Notable among the French-speaking people who ventured out of Quebec onto the frontier were the *voyageurs* and *bûcherons*.[142] As they moved through the country, they brought with them their customs and traditions. Indeed, the term *canayen* was originally used to distinguish French-speaking Canadians from British, English-speaking ones. As Michel Perron shares in his interview, "Mon oncle, qui aurait 95 ans aujourd'hui, disait toujours 'Ça c'est un bon canayen'… Parc' que les premier canadiens b'en y venaient de l'Europe. C'tait des francophones. Puis un bon canadien en Ontario c't'un gars qui est v'nu du Québec. Alors c'était un Canadien-français… C'était sous-entendu qu'un bon canayen c'tait un francophone."[143]

With the loss of the Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia, and Acadia in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and with the end of the Seven Year's War and the Treaty of Paris in 1763, French rule was replaced by British.[144] Upper and Lower Canada may have been united by the Act of Union in 1840, and French may have been accepted by government officials by 1848, but English and French speaking residents differed on two major cultural points: language and religion. The urbanisation and industrialisation of the nineteenth century, combined with poor crops and the failure of the seigneurial system in Quebec,

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[141] Gaétan Gervais, "L'histoire de l'Ontario français," *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada – L'état des lieux*, Edited by J. Yvon Thériault (Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1999), 146-148.
[142] Gaétan Gervais, "L'histoire de l'Ontario français," 231.
[143] Michel Perron, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., March 4, 2016. In "The Rights of Official Language Minority Communities in Canada," Érik Labelle Eastaugh explains that "the label applied to francophone Canadians has evolved over the centuries and usage has not always been consistent. At the time of the British conquest, the term *Canadien* was dominant. Eventually, anglophones born in Canada also began to identify as 'Canadian' and so the term evolved to *Canadien français* (French Canadian) in opposition to Canadien *anglais* (English Canadian) or simply 'les Anglais'. During the Quiet Revolution (1960s), many French Canadians in Quebec took to calling themselves Québécois , in order to reframe the parameters of their identity to coincide with that province (thus making them a majority people, rather than a minority). Amongst the younger generations, that usage is now dominant, although the term Canadien français has not entirely disappeared." Érik Labelle Eastaugh, "The Rights of Official Language Minority Comminities in Canada," DPhil diss., Keble College, 2015, 29.
[144] Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens-français*, 18.

resulted in the exodus of many French-speaking people from Quebec into places such as New England, Ontario, and western provinces such as Alberta. By 1871, 4.7% of Ontario's residents were of French heritage while 82.2% were of British heritage. By 1901, the number of French had risen to 7.3% of the total population and by 1931 to 8.7%.[145] The number rose steadily until 1961 when it began to decline. In northeastern Ontario, the area this study is concerned with, the number of French-heritage residents was higher than the provincial average.[146] In 1871, French-heritage residents accounted for 20% of the population in northeastern Ontario and by 1901 represented the highest percentage at 42.6%. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the founding families of Astorville were drawn to the area due to the promise of work combined with the ability to own large parcels of land. This is not only true of Astorville but also of other Francophone communities in Ontario, like Lafontaine, which was settled "because of course they couldn't farm land anymore in Quebec and they needed… to build communities elsewhere… [S]o the priesthood came to Ontario and then [pioneers] came to Ontario and it just went on from there."[147]

Though the number of French-speaking residents grew consistently over the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century, there was no strong French leadership in government to support French interests outside of Quebec. Furthermore, the upper echelons of the provincial economic hierarchy were Anglophone. This was quite different from life in Quebec where most social spheres were French. Despite these differences, the tie between French-speaking Canadians

[145] Roger Bernard, *De Québecois à Ontarois: La communauté francopho-ontarienne* (Hearst: Nordir, 1988), 156. Data from Census Canada from 1871 to 1971 as presented in Lachapelle and Henripin, 1980: 364-370. Division de recensement du Nord-Est de l'Ontario en 1971 Cochrane, Nipissing, Sudbury, Temiskaming.
[146] Roger Bernard, *De Québecois à Ontarois*, 153. Data from Census Canada from 1871 to 1971 as presented in Lachapelle and Henripin, 1980: 364-370. Division de recensement du Nord-Est de l'Ontario en 1971 Cochrane, Nipissing, Sudbury, Temiskaming.
[147] Brienne Kearns, Personal Interview, Tiny, ON., November 19, 2016.

in Ontario and Quebec remained fairly stable in the early part of the twentieth century. Families spanned both provinces and they kept in touch through letters and word sent by visitors.[148]

Having Quebecois, French-Catholic roots is a common element in the way many of my participants define themselves as both French-Canadian and/or Franco-Ontarian. If we consider one family from my study, a specific branch of the Laperrière family, we can see that the parents' definition of the ethnic group is passed on to their children. "C'est les racines," explains André Laperrière and there is "une… fierté de dire que je suis Canadien-français."[149] His wife, Lucie, says "Ça veut dire qu'on est d'origine… française et puis on parle le français entre nous à la maison… notre nourriture c'est la nourriture française… et puis notre religion c'est aussi la religion catholique, chrétienne."[150] Their son, Pascal, states that "j'ai toujours pensé qu'ça voulait dire plus comme être d'une certaine, ben descendance… Comme des pionniers francophones de l'Ontario… C't'un style de vie, une culture qui a été partagé par un certain nombre de gens."[151]

Other participants also use this common past as a factor that distinguishes Franco-Ontarians from other French-speaking Ontarians. When talking about what is important for her to pass on to her daughter, Lisa Loeffen says "ce sont ses souches"[152] and Brienne Kearns acknowledges that many of the cultural references present in Franco-Ontarian communities "from the food to the music to the Christmas traditions... all [come] from Quebec."[153] Indeed, having taught in a French-language school in Toronto, this tie to Quebec is something Brienne sees as separating "Franco-Ontarians" from other, French-speaking, Ontarians:

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[148] Bernard Rochefort, *Paintings and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s* (Tête du lac Publications: Astorville, 2010); Paul-Marie Girard, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., February 28, 2016; Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens-français*, 93-97.
[149] André Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.
[150] Lucie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.
[151] Pascal Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., July 11, 2016.
[152] Lisa Loeffen, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.
[153] Brienne Kearns.

> I worked in a school that was, and this is just my experience…, oh 90% Middle Eastern – so Egyptian, Lebanese, Armenian, some Vietnamese, and L'Isle Maurice as well… they don't have the social, the cultural references that I have as a… Franco-Ontarian person. And actually a lot of the times we wondered what was the point of teaching traditional Franco-Ontarian things, like songs, you know, which come from Quebec but we have adopted them 'cause our ancestors come from Quebec … Like what was the point of that if it was never gonna touch them, culturally, you know? So…, instead of that, we would pick songs that were… from around the world, from France or from Morocco, and we would be introducing different songs like that... So it's like a global French. It's not a Franco-Ontarian.[154]

Though she acknowledges that "a lot of people would argue that Franco-Ontarian is not what it used to be… and that it is international now. And it doesn't mean to have a racine, roots in Quebec,"[155] it is clear that the international and multicultural mix of French-speakers of Toronto contrasted with what she knew growing up in Blind River and experiencing when coming to family functions in Astorville. Moving out of Toronto to Lafontaine, "was like a sigh of relief in a sense," she explains, "because all of a sudden I'm amongst my people. They're saying words like I say them… They're saying de**h**ors and they're pronouncing the 'h' and I'm like, 'Woah! Where am I?!' It was like foreign to me again but I felt good about it."[156]

2.1.2. Establishing Roots

Settler life was a fight all on its own as it required a lot of hard work to clear the land, build homes, and raise families without electricity and, in the early years, without roads. Despite these hardships, Astorville became its own community. Diane Farmer, in *Artisans de la modernité: Les centres*

[154] Brienne Kearns.
[155] Brienne Kearns.
[156] Brienne Kearns.

culturel en Ontario français, and Yves Frenette in *Brève histoires des Canadiens français*, explain that in early French-Canadian communities, the primary socialising structure was the family. As they moved into Ontario, French-Canadians organised themselves into *rangs* so that homes were set up in a line. This organisation isolated individuals from each other making the home the primary site of socialisation – a socialisation that was very hierarchical and patriarchal. In Astorville, a small hub situated around the grocery store and church did exist but most of the villagers lived out *dans les rangs* only coming to the village on Sundays for mass.

These family hierarchies allowed the transmission of two types of heritage: material goods in the form of land and equipment and spiritual, or ideological heritage in the form of customs and traditions.[157] As Chapter 1 demonstrated, the founding families of Astorville have long been closely connected. If families were not already bound together through marriage before they came, they soon were once they got here. These were big families and big families were imposed by the church to help colonise Ontario. They were also a necessity for the early pioneers as children provided the workforce needed to build, and then work, the family farms. According to Danielle Juteau, a community must possess three key elements: 1) a cultural dimension, which includes cultural criteria such as language, religion, and lifestyle as well as similar morals and values; 2) a structural dimension which attempts to delimit borders and permits interaction; and 3) a subjective dimension which means that the members of the ethnic group identify themselves as members as well.[158] Astorville, in its foundational years, had all of these elements. Firstly, everyone spoke French, they were Catholic, and they were farmers – or *Habitants*. Secondly, the residents were structured by the rules of the family which were largely dictated

[157] Diane Farmer, *Artisans de la modernité : Les centres culturels de l'Ontario français* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1996), 32-33.
[158] Danielle Juteau, "Français d'Amérique, Canadiens, Canadiens français, Franco-Ontaries, Ontarois: qui sommes-nous?" *L'éthnicité et ses frontières* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999), 41-42.

by the church.[159] This latter institutional force was instrumental in imposing rules and regulations that maintained social order. Thirdly, social mores were enforced in regular, Sunday meetings after church at the general store or the tavern where families got together to share news and to exchange ideas.[160] André Laperrière shares that "nos ancêtres y étaient pas mal tous des fermiers. Y travaillaient toute la s'maine sur leurs fermes sans avoir… de liens sociale avec les gens autours. Le dimanche y allaient à la messe. Ça remplissait ce besoin là aussi."[161]

Though it is impossible to know to what extent the people of the past identified themselves as members of the ethnic group, it is clear that these meetings were important means to create and sustain ties between community members. Stories, such as the ones shared by Bernard Rochefort in his books *Paintings and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s* and *Nipissing Junction and Beyond* as well as the memories of these Sunday meetings by Arnel, Rhéal, and Ronald Perron in the *Astorville Celebrates* project, certainly show that, as boys, they saw these meetings as something special.[162] Individuals gathered regularly with friends and family creating tight bonds. French settlers followed French settlers, Bernard Rochefort shares in his interview, to be with people they knew.[163] It appears, from these many accounts, that those connections were valued and maintained in Astorville.

These eyewitness accounts supplement the limited census data available for this period. Astorville, which is now part of East Ferris, originally figured within Ferris – a geographic area that

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[159] See Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens-français*; Roger Bernard, "L'émigration québecois," *Le travail et l'espoir: migration, développement économique et mobilité sociale Québec/Ontario 1900-1985* (Ottawa: Le Nordir, 1991): 71-100.

[160] Though there was surely some shopping that took place after mass, Rhéal, Ronald, and Arnel Perron remember the gathering of families in the store after mass. Bernard explains that different families went to different spots. Some went to the store while others went to the tavern.

[161] André Laperrière.

[162] Arnel Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 24, 2015; Rhéal Perron, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., April 28, 2015; Ronald Perron, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON. April 28, 2015; Bernard Rochefort, *Paintings and Childhood Memories*; and Bernard Rochefort, *Nipissing Junction and Beyond* (Tête du la Publications: Astorville, 2015).

[163] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 18, 2016.

includes what is now North Bay. In 1901, there were 962 families living in Ferris, according to the census. By 1931, the number of families had risen to 2,036 and by 1941 it had grown to 2,636. Of these, in 1941, 411 were of English descent, 351 of Irish descent, and 284 were of Scottish descent. These 1,046 individuals represent an almost equal number to the 1,493 people who were of French origin. Moreover, 1,639 were Roman Catholic.[164] It is difficult to know exactly how many of these individuals lived in what is now East Ferris and, specifically Astorville. However, my participants and the work done by local historians suggest that there was only one English-speaking family in Astorville in the 1930s and 1940s and about three families that had both an Anglophone and a Francophone parent.[165] The minutes from the June 18, 1890 meeting of the Agricultural Society of Township of Ferris listed 53 members – 50 Francophone and 3 Anglophone.[166]

2.1.3 Large Families

If the church was foremost in creating and maintaining a sense of community and order, the large families, through sheer force of number, were a close second. "C'est ces grosses familles, des GRANDES familles," Rhéaume Rochefort says, that explain how traditions were established in this community.

> C'est pas juste une ou deux personnes. C'est des familles de plusieurs personnes… donc ça faisait une communauté… Si t'arrive icitte puis t'es juste une ou deux ben tu vas t'faire engloutir pas mal vite mais si t'es un[e] communauté de même une vingtaine de personnes, ça aide à garder. J'pense que c'est pour ça aussi les villes, les grosses villes, tu vas voir des quartiers italiens, des

[164] Data from Census Canada 1871-1941. Table 32 Population by principle origins for census subdivisions.
[165] Bernard Rochefort. Personal Interview. March 18, 2016; Rhéal Perron, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., April 7, 2016; Guillemette, *Our Pioneers* (Self-published account of life in Astorville from the pioneer days to the 1990s); *Paroisse Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin, 1901-2001, Astorville, Ontario*, Astorville: n.p., 2002;
Reed, Gisèle, Pauline Rochefort, Lora Webb, and Emily Weiskopf-Ball. *Astorville – notre chez-nous/Astorville – our home*. Callander: Nicky Designs, 2015.
[166] *Paroisse Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin, 1901-2001,* 37.

> quartiers chinois, des quartiers portugais… Y vont où c'que c'est confortable. Y s'connaissent. J'pense pas que c'est différent pour les français.[167]

The order and hierarchy established by the founding families was still so prevalent in the second half of the twentieth century that the current mayor, Bill Vrebosch, claims he only had to canvas the heads of the families when he first ran for office.[168] French-Canadians, Roger Bernard offers, can be characterised to a certain extent by their submissiveness to higher orders of power.[169] This submission to tradition and to elders is by no means unique to Astorville but it is clear that, at least historically, social order was maintained by means of these hierarchical systems.

Submitting to social and hierarchical forces will be important in later chapters of this dissertation when we look at how individuals choose foods based on their families' expectations. For now, it is important to understand that being part of a large family is still an integral part of the way many of my participants identify themselves as part of this ethnic group. For David Weiskopf, the definition of French-Canadian "is family. And [he sees] northern, French Ontario Canadians [as] tight knit families."[170] For Laure Larocque it means "French heritage and to keep speaking French with your family and within your family and to… just kind of continue the gatherings as a family… being together through the special occasions and special moments."[171] Brienne Kearns and Jack Ecker agree that Astorville and Lafontaine share "in the colouring of family."[172] "It feels very French even just because of some of the street names," Jack explains. "They're named after people's families and like specific people in people's families. A similarity to like where we live now [in Lafontaine] where… certain families… are deeply

[167] Rhéaume Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 27, 2016.
[168] Bill Vrebosch, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., April 22, 2015.
[169] Bernard, *De Québecois à Ontarois*. See Chapter 3: "Rencontre de deux mondes: Peuplement et migration" where he explains the family and the church as institutional forces that structured society in large part because both were comprised of homogenous individuals.
[170] David Weiskopf, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.
[171] Laure Larocque, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.
[172] Brienne Kearns.

rooted in the community." Moreover, Jack adds, "the church is a big part of it. The school is a big part of it."[173] Cody Tran echoes this distinction by saying that he has always considered Astorville to be a French community. "Even growing up," he shares, "the names, the roads, named after special people... There's Catherine Street, Blanche, Edmund…, Groulx Road. A lot of the roads are… named after French families so to me it's French. Maybe not as much as it was before but I still feel there's a big French connection there."[174]

In *Paroisse St-Thomas-d'Aquin 1902-2002*, the authors initiate the reader to just how big some of these founding families have become.[175] For example, from the original Perron settlers, Charles Perron and Delima Rochefort, five children were born in Astorville. This accounts for a small enough family at the time but these five children married and had large families – 49 children in total. If each of those 49 individuals married and had five children, which the book assumes is the average for post-World War II families,[176] there would have been 245 third-generation members of that particular Perron clan. If each of the latter had two children, that would have been 490 born in the fourth-generation. Multiplied by two again and the fifth generation would have produced roughly 980 people. While not everyone stays in Astorville, these family ties and connections do exist and serve to connect individuals not only in Astorville but also in other parts of the province.

Running into family – both known and unknown family members – happens all the time. As Cody Tran shares with me: *"*to have French roots…, especially in the community and… around the area…, Well

[173] Jack Ecker, Personal Interview, Tiny, ON., November 19, 2016.
[174] Cody Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016.
[175] *Paroisse Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin*, 81.
[176] While this exact number, a five child average, cannot be confirmed exactly and is likely a number the committee used based on their knowledge of the families they included in the family tree portion of the book, the section "Components of population growth" of Statistics Canada's 2008 *Canadian Demographics at a Glance* reports that "[d]uring that high fertility period, [1946-1965] the total fertility rate remained at more than three children per woman, even reaching almost four children per woman in the late 1950s." See Statistics Canada, *Canadian Demographics at a Glance*, 2008 Census. Catalogue number 91-003-XWE. 11 January 2018. https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2007001/4129903-eng.htm

if you say Laperrière, Laporte, or whatever, especially with some of the older generation… I can't [count] how many times it's just conversation starters. Or you realise, 'Oh God! This is my fifth cousin!'"[177] Astorville is certainly not unique in being a community with founding families, nor is the fact that these were large families any different from Anglophone families of the time. What is significant is that they continue to be an important part of the cultural fabric of this community. In this way, Astorville may be different from other French-speaking communities where the founding families are no longer remembered or did not have as great a legacy.

It is not surprising that my participants see a correlation between Astorville's identity and material things such as buildings and streets. A culture needs public expression, we saw in Chapter 1, and so objects with culturally loaded significance are important for reinforcing cultural ideas. In Astorville, the church and the school are public institutions that reinforce the importance and presence of the French language, French-Catholic religion, and French-language education. Astorville's founding families are another important cultural element. The winter carnival, for example, reminds the community every year that the founding families are central to the community's identity. The carnival is an annual, family-feud hockey tournament with sixteen teams competing in four divisions. To be on a family team, one must be related, by blood and within five generations, to a founding family member or be officially married to someone who is. Common-law relationships do not count. Community members who do not meet these criteria can still participate on one of the four "Outlaw" teams. Through street signs, face-to-face encounters, and celebrations and rituals that continue to bring immediate and extended family together, the people of Astorville show that family is an important way to connect past ideas of self with present ones. In participating in these events, by feeling connected to others when they learn they are related – even when the relation is removed by several generations – individuals use objects and

[177] Cody Tran.

activities to not only make connections between themselves and others but to also make the possibility of connection durable in the stories and memories of those places. In Chapters 3 and 4, the link between family, ritual, and identity will be explicitly tied to food.

For many of my participants, these French roots provide not only connections but also comfort. Most of my participants described large family gatherings where there was a lot of music and food. "Growing up, our families were very big on entertaining," Pat Dégagné shares. "The more the merrier. Everyone was welcome… there was a lot of gatherings. And I guess traditions passed that on and we're doing the same thing."[178] Because there are so many siblings, even events that only include immediate family have generally tended to be big.[179] As children, my participants remember always having family to play with. In the village, there could be 30 kids gathered to play kick-the-can – many of them siblings and cousins - while in the *rangs*, socialisation often took place among one's many siblings.[180] Even on these more isolated farms, a sense of community was created by playing games together at night and sharing in chores.[181]

It is clear that the sense of comfort and connection created by both the idea of family and the face-to-face interactions between individuals idealises the concept of family for those who value those connections. Last year, for example, I had two fourth cousins as students in my class. I had no idea we were related until parent-teacher interviews came around and I recognised their parents. The next day in class, I talked to both about the fact that we were related and that they were related to each other. While this meant something very important to me and I was looking forward to talking to them about Astorville, time I assumed they had spent there, and people and places we had in common, neither was

[178] Pat Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[179] Sylvie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., September 21, 2016.
[180] Rhéal Perron, April 7, 2016.
[181] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.

overly vested in the conversation. It occurred to me that while I grew up roaming the shore of the lake and walking down the road a parent or grandparent had lived on, they did not have the same connection to the land. Since we had never met before, we did not have a history that tied us to any specific memories or any physical places. The fact that these two students hardly ever spoke to each other in class after this conversation also shows that just because people may be related does not mean that that relationship will be enough to forge a bond. Given that I value these connections and ideas of belonging to a large family with a legacy and history, I was disappointed that the students did not seem to feel the same way. This experience made me wonder if, as families grow and evolve, too much changes to keep connections alive. If being part of a large family is equated with being French-Canadian, is it possible that families eventually become too different from each other to carry on traditions? At what point do memories no longer work? At what point do people let traditions and ideas go?

2.1.4 Agricultural Work

As previously mentioned, the French-speaking people moving into Ontario were often coming to do agricultural work. In Astorville, many of the men from founding families worked in the lumber industry and, when J.R. Booth left the area, agriculture became the principal way to earn money. J.A. Lévesque, a journalist, notary public, and school teacher was influential in organising farmers. From the 1885 Agricultural Society's minutes, one can see how passionate he was about making agriculture a way of life:

> Agriculture is the art of drawing out of the earth the greatest possible amount of product, by the use of the most simple and economical means. Agriculture is both an art and a science. It is an art for the common farmer, but a great science for the Agriculturalist, that is to say the man who only takes the actual facts as a means to discover the causes, and find out the way to control or

> change the effects. Agriculture is the first and most noble of all the arts, since the Holy Scriptures teach us that it was created by God himself.[182]

This excerpt also shows how closely agriculture and church were tied together. It is impossible to know to what extent the other members shared Lévesque's conviction or just how much stock they put into the relation between church and field, but we do know that by the time Bernard Rochefort was born in 1930, his father, like many others in the community, was selling meat at the North Bay Farmers' Market on Saturdays and his mother was selling homemade butter. Moreover, we also know that even farm work could not be done on Sundays without permission from the priest. Miracles performed by priests, such as keeping fire out of a field, and rituals, such as hanging rosaries on clotheslines for nice weather, are a few examples of how the church did influence agricultural beliefs and practices.[183]

This rural, agrarian lifestyle is another element common in my participants' answers. Comparing Astorville to Lafontaine, for example, Jack Ecker explains that:

> When historical things go on here, it's kind of similar to Astorville when we did the parade [for *Astorville en fête*] and I was in the one float and it… all had to do with the homestead and… there are certain traditional jobs that seem to get celebrated and I find them similar like logging, and maple syrup, and hunting, and trapping… I don't know if that comes from like that original line of Champlain from North Bay over to over here but… they had that similar woodsy atmosphere or that similar… celebration of that like kind of frontier, French frontiersmen… The voyageur. The trapper kind that still gets celebrated, I find, in both spots.[184]

[182] Agricultural Society Minutes, 1885. The records were kept in English. This is Lévesque's original text.
[183] Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens-français*; Bernard, "L'émigration québecois."
[184] Jack Ecker.

For Lydia Weiskopf-Tran, being French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian is "just a certain culture and a certain way of living… you know for us, living in the more country, rural [setting]. Having the sugar shack, having the maple syrup, having big family gatherings and having that religion and some of those traditional foods."[185]

The work that attracted settlers to Ontario meant that they were also overrepresented in heavy industry and primary resource exploitation.[186] While French workers were valued in the nearby logging industry as hard workers, their limited knowledge of English meant that they were not able to advance in an English world. As one of Canada's founding nations, the French in Ontario cannot be said to have been "colonised" in the way that the Indigenous people were. Colonisation implies a collision of cultures. As the coloniser moves in, he imposes his language, ways, and values on the native of the land. The coloniser's power places the coloniser at the centre and language spoken by this power gives that language authority. In small communities like Astorville, it was relatively easy to maintain French hegemony since there were few English-speaking residents to influence public and private social gatherings. Yet, outside of Astorville, and certainly in a workforce where they were considered good workers but not overly intelligent, the French of Ontario suffered from an internal colonisation[187] that had long-term implications on the work and lives they chose as adults.

2.1.5. Fighting Assimilation

Language, according to Lacan, "precedes consciousness; as speaking subjects we are born into [it]."[188] Thus "[w]hen we use language we do so against a background of vocabulary, syntax, grammar

[185] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016.
[186] Monica Heller, "Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7, no. 4 (2003), 473-492; and Monica Heller "Du français comme 'droit' au français comme 'valeur ajoutée': de la politique à l'économique au Canada" *Langue et société* 136 (juin 2011), 13-30.
[187] Monica Heller, "Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity," 13-30.
[188] Sean Homer, *Jacques Lacan* (*Google Books* Accessed May 19, 2017. Available https://books.google.ca/books?id=7b1snzyl_QAC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false), 40.

and conventions; we are not conscious of all those elements when we speak or write but they are there and they determine what we can and cannot say. If we transgress the rules our speech becomes meaningless."[189] Lacan explains that each person creates his/her identity through a relationship with the Other and "[i]t is through the Other that the subject secures its position in the symbolic, social, order."[190] While this system should work in a reciprocal and mutually beneficial way, "in post-colonial societies, the participants are frozen into a hierarchical relationship in which the oppressed are locked into position by the assumed moral superiority of the dominant group… Such accounts, too, are grounded in an awareness of the struggle between discourses as the fundamental constitutive mode of such relations."[191] Thus from the top of the social hierarchy, language is used to perpetuate negative stereotypes of others that are eventually accepted by all.

According to Philipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas, "[l]anguage is for most ethnic groups one of the most important cultural core values… A threat to an ethnic group's language is thus a threat to the cultural and linguistic survival of the group. [Since] lack of linguistic rights often prevents a group from achieving educational, economic and political equality with other groups."[192] O'Keefe's 2001 report *New Canadian Perspectives Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality* highlights seven key factors that influence the vitality of language and that impact policy making and language planning efforts. These factors are: symbolic, demographic, institutional, education, status and privilege, identity, and utility.[193] For a language to survive, those who speak it must recognise these key factors.

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[189] Homer, *Jacques Lacan*, 37
[190] Homer, *Jacques Lacan*, 72
[191] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), 170.
[192] Robert Phillipson, Mart Rannut, and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, "Introduction," *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*, Edited by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter), 5.
[193] Michael O'Keefe, *New Canadian Perspectives Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, Second Edition (Canadian Heritage), 10-12.

Adding to the fight for basic human survival against the elements was, for French-speaking pioneers, the fight to preserve the French language and their Catholic values against the assimilationist policies of a Protestant, English majority. As historians such as Choquette, Barber, and Prang have shown, the English-speaking, Protestants feared the growing number of Catholic French-Canadians in the province of Ontario because of their increasing political, economic, and social weight.[194] The Orangemen were heavily involved in politics and so many business and political transactions took place during lodge meetings. In 1905, provincial power shifted from the Liberals to the Conservatives led by the Hon. James Pliny Whitney. This party, which had long been supported by Orangemen, was now in charge of the province. The party was re-elected in 1908. In January 1910, the *Sentinel*, a pro-Orange publication, printed: "It is part of the great ambition of the French that French be equal with English. Should that demand ever be conceded… the battle waged for a century will have been lost… It would almost inevitably mean French domination and papal supremacy."[195] The Orangemen believed that the French in Ontario should forgo their cultural and linguistic identity in favour of English and Anglo-Saxon ways; something the French refused to do. It was "this refusal to assimilate that [made] the French-Canadian so difficult to get along with," claimed the *Sentinel* in November 1910.[196] Even though Canada was led by the French-Canadian Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, Ontario was in the powerful hands of Conservative Orangemen who feared the threat of the French and so vowed to assimilate them at all costs.

A major concern for the Orangemen was the prominence of French in schools. By 1885 they had already put enough pressure on the government that the Ontario Department of Education made the

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[194] Robert Choquette, *A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975); Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict" *Minorities, Schools, and Politics*, Edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger (Canadian Historical Readings. Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 63-84; and Margaret Prang, "Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917," *Minorities, Schools, and Politics*, Edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger (Canadian Historical Readings: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 85-111.

[195] Quoted in Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," 78.

[196] Quoted in Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," 71.

study of English mandatory in schools. Fear of French was also spreading throughout the province. At the time, the *Mail*, a Toronto based newspaper, printed that "Russell and Prescott schools are nurseries not merely of an alien tongue, but of alien customs, of alien sentiments and… of a wholly alien people."[197] By 1890, a new regulation was introduced that allowed French to be the language of instruction only if the students did not understand English. In his 1909 report on English-French schools in the Ottawa Valley, Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools, Dr. F. W. Merchant stated that "[t]he atmosphere of the schools is undoubtedly French. The language of the teacher in conversing with the pupils or in giving general directions is French. The children use French in their ordinary conversations in the school and on the playground."[198] Moreover, despite the fact that students received their education in both French and English, Merchant reported, "the pupils were not proficient in either [language]."[199] Although he attributed this lack of proficiency to teacher training and school structure, the Orangemen were outraged.

The ultimate blow to French education in Ontario came in 1912 with the adoption of Circular of Instruction No. 17 (aka Regulation 17). Leading the Conservative party, James Whitney declared that

> [t]he use of French language in the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario constitutes a grave menace to the integrity of the province as an English-speaking community… Therefore we protest in the most solemn and emphatic manner against the special privileges which the French are granted by the regulations of the Education Department… and we respectfully request the Government of… Ontario to enact such laws and make such amendments to the regulations… as

[197] Quoted in Sheila McLeod Arnopolous, *Voices from French Ontario* (Canada: McGill-Queen University Press, 1982), 59.
[198] Quoted in Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," 73.
[199] Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," 73.

> will make it unlawful and impossible for the French language to be used in any of the Public or Separate schools of… Ontario.[200]

On April 13, 1912, the Department of Education moved that "[i]nstruction in English shall commence at once upon a child entering school, the use of French as the language of instruction and of communication to vary according to local conditions upon the report of the supervising inspector, but in no case to continue beyond the end of the first form."[201]

Scholars agree that the language of instruction in a school does a lot to promote or hinder cultural awareness and pride for minority groups. In *The Cultural Politics of English*, Pennycook draws on Giroux to explain how schools are not neutral bodies but rather political arenas. In "Modernism, postmodernism and feminism, rethinking the boundaries of educational discourse," Giroux outlines critical pedagogy as having nine features that, ultimately, stress that teachers have the power to transform their students and, by showing them the type of citizen they should become, create the next generation of adults.[202] In a French school, teachers can insist on linguistic pride and so promote future French leaders. Also, teachers can teach their students to fight injustice. In a community where the French are a minority and/or suffering, teachers may make students aware of the need to challenge these inequalities. To do so, teachers can use texts, examples, and concepts that privilege the reality of the linguistic groups. Such practices "work towards the creation of new forms" of knowledge and "reject claims to objectivity in favour of more partial and particular versions of knowledge, truth and reason."[203]

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[200] Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario West, Resolution quoted in Robert Choquette, *A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 163.
[201] Robert Choquette, *A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 166. The "first form" corresponded to the two first years of instructions
[202] H. Giroux, "Modernism, postmodernism and feminism, rethinking theh boundaries of educational discourse," *Postmodernism, feminism and cultural politics: redrawing educational boundaries*, Edited by H. Giroux (New York, SUNY Press, 1991), 1-59.
[203] Alastair Pennycook, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1994), 298.

Furthermore, teachers inspire their students to not only imagine but to also create a better world. Thus minority language schools "provide an essential physical and social space within which members can meet and foster their cultural and linguistic heritage"[204] but are also a space in which a group can rally together to plot against their oppressors. Although Giroux's theory is intended to explain the role of teachers in developing countries, his work applies to any minority-language teacher. This critical pedagogy was feared by the Orangemen and contributed to their push for new educational policies that would assimilate the French.

In order to prevent such unfair policies, the French of Ontario rallied by creating the Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario. This organisation vowed to fight Regulation 17, a policy it described as a "cruel, arbitrary, unjust, and sweeping denial of the elementary, natural, as well as constitutional rights of at least ten per cent of the people of this Province."[205] Analysis of this organisation shows that it was founded on the seven key factors O'Keefe identified in his 2001 report. Firstly, French in Ontario had tremendous symbolic value. As one of the country's partners in Confederation, the French, we have seen, had been instrumental in developing the country. The prohibition of the language symbolised a political imbalance that needed to be rectified. Secondly, demographically, the French of Ontario were spread out and so had to be united under a common front in order to better defend themselves against the English majority. Thirdly, there was an unequal distribution of institutional power. Most governments, agencies, and businesses were English. The same had become true of education now that the Ministry of Education had banned French in Ontario schools. Ultimately, the linguistic policies of the time reveal that the French were considered inferior to the English. The French did not have the same jobs because they were not able to function as well in an

[204] *School Governance: The Implementation of Section 23 of the Charter* quoted in O'Keefe, *New Canadian Perspectives Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, 75.
[205] Choquette, *A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario*, 163.

English world. French was increasingly only being used in the privacy of the home or in small, rural communities.

Regulation 17 was repealed in 1927 and though none of my participants were directly affected by it, its influence as a defining, cultural event does continue to linger in the collective memory of those I interviewed, especially those who were born before the 1970s. Bernard Rochefort, for example, explains that "Non. Pas affecté nous autre b'en b'en. Quand qu'on allait à l'école nous autre on avait des livres français, oui… mais c'pas longtemps avant ça qu'y avait pas l'droit, y… cachait les livres… Ou y fallait qu'y achète leur… propres livres puis quand que l'inspecteur venait, y les cachaient."[206] Despite being mostly Francophone when it was settled, it seems that the residents of Astorville have always been open to bilingualism. For example, when it was founded in 1890, the Agricultural Society put in its constitution that both the president and secretary had to speak both languages to accommodate the English-speaking members. Also, as early as 1892, the school trustees specifically hired bilingual teachers.[207] While it is not clear how much of each language was spoken in these institutional settings, the fact that these concessions were noted in the minutes and upheld in the hiring practices of both organisations suggests that an openness to bilingualism was present in Astorville from its foundation. Moreover, the village was ultimately named Astorville because its former name, Lévesqueville, was too difficult for English-speakers to pronounce. Bilingualism was also valued at the individual level. When I asked Yvonne Patterson Rochefort how it was that she could leave Astorville and start working as a legal secretary without any new training she answered, "I don't know. It seems I always spoke English. At school we learned both. It seemed to come naturally."[208] Despite these accommodating practices, the view that the French language needs to be protected has also worked its way down through the generations.

[206] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[207] Minutes *Book of the Board of the Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees of Section No. 2,* Township of Ferris, Ontario.
[208] Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Personal Interview, Gatineau, QC., January 18, 2016.

2.2. Flight

2.2.1. Redefinition

In Canada, the 1960s was a decade of radical social transformation. From the hippie counter-culture, to second-wave feminism, to reforms for racial equality, to protests against the war in Vietnam, this was a period that ultimately privileged individual freedom over rigid social constraint. Although often associated with major American movements such as the Summer of Love in San Francisco, the Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama, and the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique,* the "sixties" were also a revolutionary period for Canadian society. Expo '67 and the centennial celebration of Canada as a country put Canada on the world stage. Inspired by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, Canadian women banded together to form feminist organisations. Racial improvement came in the form of universal suffrage granted to all Status Indians in 1960. Added to all these social changes was also the mounting unrest between French and English. Recognising the growing nationalism of provinces such as Quebec, Lester B. Pearson commissioned a new Canadian flag in 1965 that sought to bring together these two "founding nations" and created a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bi-culturalism.

During the 1960s, the Roman Catholic Church also sought to modernise itself. Indeed, after Vatican II passed concluded 1965, mass was held in vernacular languages rather than in Latin, the priest faced the congregation, the regalia became less ornate, and the liturgical calendar came to focus on the Passion of Christ. Yet, Vatican II came at a time when individuals were already speaking out against dogma in general and so, compounded with modernisation and industrialisation, the 1960s saw a societal shift away from the Church overall. In Quebec, this period, known as the Quiet Revolution, was when the provincial government took control of health care and educational issues from the Roman Catholic Church. Quebec also sought to collectivise some aspects of the market economy by creating important public projects and institutions such as Hydro-Québec and SIDBEC. In the 1970s and 1980s,

new policies such as Bill 101, which made French the dominant language of business, and the Parti Québécois' referendum calling for the province's independence, made Quebec into a de-facto nation-state that no longer sought to protect, or needed the protection of, its Francophone outposts elsewhere in Canada.

The social impact of modernisation and industrialisation was certainly felt in Astorville. By the 1960s, farming was no longer a way to sustain a family and lack of employment in the village meant that more and more residents needed to leave it to find work. Those born in the 1930s had already recognised these challenges and many – like Bernard Rochefort who went to work for the rail line, Yvonne Patterson Rochefort who went to work in Toronto, and Rhéal Perron who left home as a child to board in Sudbury – testify that not everyone who was born in Astorville stayed in Astorville. While people had long been leaving Astorville for work, the biggest exodus from Astorville due to economic need was felt in the 1960s. Work, however, often required the ability to speak English – especially if one wanted to advance – and being French still carried a negative connotation that meant French-Canadians were considered inferior.

Language was an important issue on which Quebecois and Ontarians differed. In Quebec, the popularity of radio and television, increasing literacy rates, and increased social mobility pushed its Francophones to restandardise their French. Outside of Quebec, however, mediocre access to these forms of media made standardising French difficult. Urbanisation had caused many, hitherto agricultural people, to move into cities or to larger mining communities to find sustainable employment. In Anglophone centres, David Welch explains, keeping French heritage and language going was difficult as children played with Anglophone children and men needed to learn English for the workplace. [209] In

[209] David Welch, "La collectivité franco-ontarienne : une présence historique liée à son développement socioéconomique," *Francophonie d'Amérique* 20 (2005), 132

cities, the French continued to find and settle near other French people creating French sections of town. In Sudbury, for example, the French community had its own geographical section known as the Flour Mill, or "Moulin à Fleur." In these urban environments, the value of the French language changed. In Sudbury, the residents Sheila McLeod Arnopolous studied in the 1970s considered French a "closet language" – a language spoken at home and in private settings but not in public for fear of discrimination.[210] Indeed, some of my participants shared that speaking French at work could have cost them their jobs. Thus even when one knew a colleague spoke French, Bernard Rochefort shares, you spoke English to him. No longer a majority in the economic and social world, and thus unable to maintain an endogamous community structure, individuals were losing touch with their French-Canadian linguistic roots so they could survive in their new, Anglophone worlds. This shift in language use consequently meant that the vocabulary and syntax of the French spoken in Ontario was changing to what is known as a *Franglais* – a mixing of French and English. Due to the large distances between communities, villages often developed their own, regional vernacular that distinguished them from each other.[211] Participants in my study certainly recognised that Astorville has its own slang, "c'est un joual Anglais plutôt qu'un joual, joual. C'est pas plein d'sacres comme au Québec," Rhéal Perron shares.[212] It is also different from the slang of nearby communities such as Sturgeon Falls.

Even in what was still a predominantly Francophone community, it is not surprising that English was creeping into Astorville's vernacular. During the 1960s there was still a lot of access to French outside the home, but there was little access to French media. In North Bay and Callander, where many of Astorville's residents went to work, there was little enthusiasm from the English majority to give

[210] Arnopolous, *Voices from French Ontario*.
[211] Many of the participants of the *Astorville Celebrates* oral history project discussed embarrassment at their ability to speak French. A number also discussed the issue of Astorville's particular Franglais citing words like *char* and *catin* as examples. For example: Alain Rochefort, Personal interview, Astorville, ON., February 3, 2015 and Charlene Point, Personal interview, Astorville, ON., March 18, 2015.
[212] Rhéal Perron, April 7, 2016.

French an equal footing. Given these very different realities, it is not surprising that the residents of Quebec and Ontario grew further apart. Whereas Quebecois leaders sought to protect the province's linguistic integrity by emphasising standardised French, French-speaking Ontarians had to learn to balance French and English if they were to survive.

2.2.2 Schooling

Just as in the early development of Ontario, French-language schools were integral to the survival of the French language in the middle of the century. In 1965, the Ministry of Education published Memorandum 85 in the *Memorandum to Officials Concerned with Secondary Education, French as a language of instruction in Secondary Schools* which granted schools permission to teach "Français, Latin, Geography, and History [in French] in those schools where the number of French students [was] adequate to justify separate classes in these subjects." In the same year, the Ministry of Education permitted bilingual schools to open where there was enough demand. Finally, in July of 1968, law 141 passed giving the Francophones in Ontario the right to open their own secondary schools in which the language of communication could be entirely in French. The 1969 *Official Languages Act* made Canada officially bilingual and gave French and English equal status in Canada's Parliament and in federal agencies and institutions.

Even with Memorandum 85, in the early sixties, Astorville's students and their parents had to make difficult choices in terms of education. There was only one French high school in nearby North Bay – a private school run by the Roman Catholic church. Students who wished to pursue their education in French after elementary school had to pay for it. The English high schools in North Bay did not teach French. Thus, students who went to an English high school from a French elementary school were often unable to keep up with their peers because they did not understand the material and could not ask for help. The lack of support often caused them to feel inadequate and caused them to drop out of school. Even once schools began to offer some classes in French, students who went to those schools from a

French elementary school continued to be seen as, and to feel, inferior to English-speaking students. This discrimination is evident in the number of reports of bullying my participants shared about their experiences of going to school in English communities like North Bay.

> On était cinq francophones, five frogs, sur un autobus à Graniteville à North Bay. Puis littéralement s'faire craché d'sus puis… Quand c'tait l'temps débarqué, j'me souviens encore, y avait des gens qui t'nait nos manteaux puis là l'conducteur d'autobus voyait c'qui c'passait puis y nous criait par la tête de s'dépêcher de débarquer puis des gens qui nous r'tenait toutes les deuxièmes chaises. Là, si on tirait, le manteau déchiré puis des affaires comme ça. S'faire craché d'sus puis French Frogs puis c'tait vraiment pas beau. Au hockey quand j'ai commencé à jouer j'me chicanait pas avec les gens sur l'autre équipe, j'me chicanait avec des gens de mon équipe à moi. C'tait pas beau là parc' qu'on jouait pas puis on était souvent assis sur l'bancs… The little French kid.[213]

This discrimination hindered their ability to obtain equal education and so put them at a social and economic disadvantage. Given this hostile environment, it is not surprising that, in the area as in other parts of the province, "French-Canadian parents repeatedly declared that they wanted their children to learn English because they realized that a knowledge of English was necessary for life in an English-speaking province."[214] Failure to learn English meant a failure to succeed. Both the students and their parents recognised this inequality yet they also realised that they could not change their reality. This did not mean, however, that parents wanted to give up on French. In fact, "an important rider was always attached to these declarations; [parents] did not want English to be taught at the expense of French. French was the mother tongue, the symbol of French-Canadian identity and pride, and it took

[213] Michel Perron.
[214] O'Keefe, 63.

precedence over English, the language of business and the dominant language of the country."[215] So, while they could continue to value French in some aspects of their lives, it would be impossible to live as a unilingual Francophone.

Much as with the opposition to the assimilationist policies of Regulation 17, whereby schools just continued to clandestinely teach in French, in the 60s the resistance to Anglophone domination in the area began with a compromise rather than a full-blown confrontation. Given that Memorandum 85 permitted secondary schooling in French, it was agreed, after much deliberation, that the French people of North Bay and its surrounding areas would be allowed to open their own school: L'École bilingue de North Bay. However, it would share the existing Widdifield Secondary School. While this may initially have seemed ideal as the French school would have access to a gym, science labs, and all the other rooms a good high school requires without having to build it from scratch – it quickly became obvious that this compromise was a far from perfect solution. Its first year, 1968, l'École Bilingue de North Bay had 516 students. Given the number of students registered in both the English and French schools, the building could not accommodate all the students at the same time. The resulting shift system saw English students begin their school day at 8:45am and finish at 2:45pm. At this point, the French students began their day – which finished at 8:30pm.[216]

Another bone of contention was in respect to the amenities. Widdifield's staff had access to the gym until 3:10 and for one whole day every week. The French had to make their way to Thompson Park, which was nowhere near the school, or had to forgo any extracurricular activities. There were not enough lockers or storage facilities for both schools, the students of l'École Bilingue were not allowed access to the library, the shift system caused classroom disruptions as students entered and left the

[215] Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," 63.
[216] *Historique de l'École secondaire Algonquin* (Équipe Expérience '77: North Bay, 1976), 29.

building, and the typewriters were not French.[217] Moreover, figures projected second year enrollment for l'École Bilingue to be well over seven hundred students – too many to make the shift system manageable.

L'École Bilingue, although progress toward equality between French and English, was nevertheless an affirmation of the English majority's control over minority rights and freedom because it maintained the hierarchy between the French and English in the community. Even within this school, equal opportunity, the promotion of cultural life, and linguistic pride were difficult to achieve. The shift system made cultural and athletic spirit nearly impossible. It was also a nuisance for parents, students, and staff because it cut up the day. Symbolically and materially, the French were reminded of their inferior status by being denied equal rights, space, and privileges.

In a mixed language setting, the language of the dominant group more often influences students of the minority language and so makes them easier targets for assimilation. According to Porter, Porter, and Blishen, "[t]he Francophone in the English schools are constantly aware of their minority status, feel inadequate compared to their English-speaking peers, have a low academic self-concept and do not feel themselves capable of doing university work. The Francophones in the French-language schools, on the other hand, can forget about their minority status in the province, since it does not infringe on the classroom."[218] Importantly, therefore, minority language schools can be significant political grounds. Teachers in such schools can potentially be considered dangerous by the centre. This is especially true when teachers "[exhibit] a preferential concern for the suffering and struggle of the disadvantaged and oppressed."[219]

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[217] *Historique de l'École secondaire Algonquin*, 28.
[218] Quoted in Claudette Tardiff, "French Language Minority Education: Political and Pedagogical Issues" *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation* 15, no. 4 (1990), 404.
[219] Giroux quoted in Alastair Pennycook, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*, 303.

After two years of the shift system, teachers finally forced the issue by going on strike. Although promised their own building at the beginning of the 1970 school year, no real effort had been made by the English board to give over a new location. The staff therefore felt that it had been made false promises in order to keep it quiet. After two years and another jump in enrollment, there was much tension between the two schools lodged within Widdifield. The French teachers felt that they had been given a second-rate school and were angered by the lack of government support.[220] In this way, the school became an important political space. Teachers, angered by their situation, demonstrated against political inequalities. Seeing this, students gathered to speak out as well. The strike ultimately worked and, in 1971, l'École Bilingue de North Bay moved and became École Algonquin School.

Even though it had its own school, a place where the French could gather and learn together, a place and space to promote and celebrate their culture and heritage, the name it was given was markedly bilingual. In fact, the school's mission was to "répondre aux besoins de la population francophone de la région… D'une part, nous devons donner à nos élèves suffisamment de français pour qu'ils puissent vivre pleinement une vie de Canadiens d'ascendance française et, d'autre part, une connaissance pragmatique et instrumentale de l'anglais."[221] The school, therefore, was not designed to promote French at the expense of English.

Within this new school, communication from the principal was done in French and Français, History, and Geography were taught in French. The rest of the classes, however, were taught in the language that was most convenient for the students and the teacher. As Chaperon-Lor reveals in his study of the area, the transition from a shared to an autonomous school that truly valued bilingualism was a sign that its leaders properly understood the population's educational needs. After all "[a]près

[220] *Historique de l'École secondaire Algonquin*, 38.
[221] *Guide des professeurs École secondaire Algonquin 1976-1977* (North Bay: ESC, 1976), 4.

cinquante ans d'assimilation et d'isolement, on ne peut pas s'attendre à voir la population réaliser soudainement la valeur de garder leur français… offrir un programme où tous les cours auraient été en français aurait aliéné une bonne partie des familles francophones qu'on voulait desservir."[222] This sentiment was echoed by the school itself which claimed in its guide book to the staff that "[l]e francophone de North Bay n'est pas intéressé à garder sa langue par patriotisme ou folklore, mais bien pour des raisons pragmatiques : s'il est bilingue, il sait qu'il peut trouver du travail plus facilement."[223]

Here again O'Keefe's seven factors (symbolic, demographic, institutional, education, status and privilege, identity, and utility) as well as Philipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas and Porter, Porter, and Blishen's theories are relevant. This school, and especially the name, mission, and vision it settled on, represents a means for the French in North Bay and area to "achieve educational, economic and political equality with" the English.[224] The school became a symbol of equality. It was also important because it demonstrated a resistance to complete assimilation and of the discriminatory practices imposed by the English province. The school gave the French a place to unite but also helped promote the continuation of the French language by creating a legacy for families and the community. Because the students were bilingual rather than unilingual, they had more job opportunities than their English peers. The school therefore permitted status and privilege and made the use of French an asset.

2.2.4. Mixed Marriages

This emphasis on bilingualism may also be because, by the 1960s and 1970s, more and more families were of mixed heritage. As we have seen, the founding families from Astorville were initially tightly connected by not only a common language but also by common values and ways of life. In the

[222] D. Chaperon-Lor, *Une minorité s'explique: Les Attitudes de la population francophone du Nord-Est ontarien envers l'éducation de langue française* (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1974), 71.
[223] *Guide des professeurs École secondaire Algonquin 1976-1977*, 4.
[224] Phillipson, Rannut, and Skutnabb-Kangas, "Introduction," 5.
[224] O'Keefe, *New Canadian Perspectives Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, 5.

early years of settlement, there were strict rules about marriage. As Carmen Weiskopf explains, it used to be taboo to marry a person who spoke English and who was not Catholic: "C'était comme un BIG deal. C'était pas l'affaire à faire… J'me souviens dans [la famille à mon père], si quelqu'un sortait avec un anglais c'était un BIG DEAL!"[225] By the time my parents married in the 1970s, however, it was no longer taboo to marry outside the ethnic group.

While schools are crucial for ensuring that a language continues to be spoken in a community, the family home is where a language, culture, and values are internalised. According to Fishman, if a minority language is to be successfully maintained, parents must pass it on to their children. Pauwels and Chrisp echo that the more children speak a language at home, the more likely they are to use it in other aspects of their lives. In her study of SENĆOŦEN speakers in British Columbia, Britt Thorburn argues that parents must consciously work to make language a priority in the home if it is to be passed on to the next generation. Her Masters work includes language planning guides and resources for parents.[226] Similarly, Rodrigue Landry and Réal Allard's "balancier compensateur" is a tool developed for minority-setting, French-speaking, school-aged children and their parents. By physically writing out, or cutting and pasting images, on a language scale, individuals gain awareness of how much of their lives are spent in both French and English. This tool, which I described in Reflection 1, has certainly been used in some of the elementary school classrooms of St. Thomas d'Aquin. Given that a person must live at least 20 to 30 percent of his/her life in a given language to develop fluency, le balancier compensateur is a way to

[225] Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., April 28, 2016.
[226] Britt Thorburn, "Another Piece of the Puzzle: The Importance of Supporting Indigenous Language Revitalization in the Home," MA Dissertation, UofVictoria. 2016; A. Pauwels, "Maintaining the community language in Australia: Challenges and roles for families," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* 8, no. 2 (2005), 124-131; J.A. Fishman, *What is reversing language shift (RLS) and how can it succeed? Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 111, no. 2 (1990), 5-36. DOI: 10.1080/01434632.1990.9994399; J.A. Fishman, "From Theory to Practice (and Vice Versa): Review, Reconsideration and Reiteration," *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?* Edited by J.A. Fishman (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1990), 451–483.

make individuals aware that certain activities need to be done in French to compensate for the overwhelming influence of English in our lives.

When a household becomes bilingual, individuals make conscious, or sometimes unconscious, decisions about language. In the case of French-English mixed homes, it is often largely assumed that English will become the main language spoken and, therefore, that those born in that household will automatically privilege English. This assumption and dominant discourse has been internalised by some of my participants pointing to an internalisation of a belief that English is the language that will take over in private and public situations. Indeed, some of my participants use this master narrative when claiming that Astorville is less Francophone today than before because "la plupart des mariages c'est des mariages mixtes alors… si un des deux parle pas le français b'en la langue dans la maison va devenir l'anglais… Les couples qui sont traditionnellement de la région c'est ça qui c'passe. Puis ceux-là qui viennent de l'extérieur b'en c'est surtout des anglophones."[227] The language the main child care provider speaks is important, my participants believe, because "quand la personne primaire qui prend soin des enfants, que ça soit l'homme ou la femme, est anglaise, ça devient une famille anglaise."[228] Assuming that English will dominate in the home and thus acting in accordance with what individuals have come to accept as the logical resolution of this choice is one way that French-speaking people can be seen to give in to a system of beliefs that privileges English over French.

Linguistic assimilation is a real issue for individuals in minority contexts. In fact, Carmen Weiskopf uses my father as an example of how easy it is for a language to disappear. Because she was the main caregiver for us as children, we were immersed in French. Though my father's mother tongue is German, by the time he got home from working a long day of construction, he was tired, it was late, and he had

[227] Lucie Laperrière.
[228] Carmen Weiskopf.

little time to spend with us. My parents made a decision that we would speak French with my mother and English when my father was present. Despite this mutual understanding, it was still frustrating for my father when we were very young as we did not know or understand enough English to communicate with him.

People will give up a language when they are not emotionally tied to it and when maintaining the language represents more effort than a person is willing and/or able to give. This is especially important in a mixed family when. "C'est presqu'impossible," my mother explains, "quand t'as le père ou la mère qui est pas toujours là,"[229] to keep a language alive and so we did not learn to speak German in much the way some French-English families ultimately drop French within the home. In Cody's home, for example, his father spoke English and his mother spoke French. Though his mother initially spoke French to her children eventually, after long work days, it became easier to just speak English. With time, the children changed from a French-language school to a school with a French Immersion program.[230] They still had some French at home when their mémère visited but it was not enough to maintain a proficiency in the language. Cody's family is an interesting example in that even if Cody, his two brothers and his sister who is closer in age changed to a French Immersion school, the same is not true for all of his siblings. His youngest brother and sister both attended St. Thomas d'Aquin in Astorville and will both graduate from École secondaire catholique Algonquin. Thus, while it is true that there must be a conscious effort made by parents to keep a language alive, decisions are not absolute and can be revisited.

If the linguistic makeup of home life was changing in the 60s and 70s, so too was the linguistic world of the school. Some, like Michel Perron, spoke mainly French at school, but others, like Rhéaume

[229] Carmen Weiskopf.

[230] Ontario's French Immersion programs are designed for students who do not speak French at home but who wish to learn the language. These students are French as a Second Language (FSL) learners. There are different types of French Immersion programs – some starting as early as Kindergarten and others beginning in later grades. In these schools, at least two subjects are taught in French and students also take a French class. See "French as a Second Language" Ontario Ministry of Education (Queen's Printer for Ontario, 2018).

Rochefort, spoke a bigger mix of French and English. As their answers reveal, it depended largely on who they were talking to. Michel explains that "notre p'tite gang, on était des francophones. Ta mère, Roberte… Jean Perron puis toute cette gang là c'était toute des francophones. Ronald Groulx."[231] These were all children from founding-family homes.

Rhéaume's and Lucie's answers echo that family origins accounted for much when one spoke to someone else. For Rhéaume,

> ça dépend. On avait des amis avec qui qu'on parlait en anglais puis des amis avec qui qu'on parlait en français. J'pense ça dépendait de eux autre. Si y parlaient en anglais ou français à la maison… Donc dans classe j'pouvais parler avec tel personne qui parlait en français. L'autre me comprenait… Aussitôt qu'on l'adressait on parlait en anglais. Puis c'tait d'même. Constamment. Donc ça ça jamais changé. Même au secondaire. Si y avait des gens qui v'nait d'Bonfield sontait plus à l'aise en français, on parlait en français. Si y avait des gens, disons, de North Bay qui sontait plus à l'aise en anglais on parlait en anglais. Mais nous autre, ça nous faisait pas d'tord parc' qu'on était assez habile dans les deux langues. Ça aidait pas ceux qui étaient pas habile en français. Mais ceux qui sont pas habile en anglais sont rare.[232]

For Lucie,

> Nous autre c'était les deux… ça dépendait si y avait un membre de la famille, un parent disons était anglophone, mais ces enfants-là y auraient parlé plus anglais tandis que les personnes, les enfants donc leurs deux parents étaient francophones, b'en, ceux-là j'semblais parler en français parc' qu'y étaient probablement comme moi. Y étaient plus confortable parler français. Puis pour

[231] Michel Perron.
[232] Rhéaume Rochefort.

> moi, b'en si… l'autre enfant… était plus anglophone que francophone, mais moi je l'aurais parlé plus en anglais plutôt que c't'enfant là parler en français. Et puis… une fois que j'commençais à parler à quelqu'un d'une certaine langue, sois en français ou en anglais, b'en ça continuait comme ça. T'sais. J'trouve ça difficile de changer une fois qu'tu connais quelqu'un.[233]

Habits are hard to break, as Lucie mentions, and so when individuals begin their social lives together in one language, and when friends become spouses or colleagues, it is difficult to suddenly switch languages. It is clear from my interviews that individuals do not often question this particular dominant discourse choosing to accommodate to avoid conflict.

Yet, some report having had these discussions with their partners and having subsequently made a conscious effort to switch the language in which they communicated with each other. "Quand qu'on s'est premièrement rencontré, tante Francine puis moi, on parlait surtout en anglais," Rhéaume Rochefort explains.

> Quand qu'elle a été él'vé, a parlait anglais à maison. A toujours été à l'école en français. Et puis… j'pense que tante Francine à voulait garder son français. Le pratiquer plus souvent. On avait fait une entente entre elle puis moi, on fera un effort de toujours se parler en français… parc' qu'elle croyait aussi que c'était important pour que nos enfants apprennent le français donc pour que eux autre apprennent le français fallait aussi que nous autre on le parle. Sans ça, y apprendrons jamais, t'sais. Ou pratiquerons. Y vont pas vouloir le pratiquer… Mais on parle encore, entre elle puis moi, on parle encore en anglais de temps en temps-là t'sais. Mais on retourne tout l'temps à la langue français.[234]

[233] Lucie Laperrière.
[234] Rhéaume Rochefort.

As much as habit is part of the equation, a partner who is supportive and open to the language is another. Lisa explains that "pour moi, la différence c'est Marcel. Parc' que... grandir, on parlait en français avec ma mère. On parlait en anglais avec mon père… A l'école on parlait en anglais dans l'foyer... Marcel a un gros rôle à jouer là dans [mon évolution personnel]. Par rapport à Magali surtout comme. Avec Marcel on a toujours parlé en français."[235] This same attention to French would not have been as easy in her previous relationship. Despite being from a French-heritage family, her former spouse did not value the language in the same way. Had she had children in that marriage, she explains, "probablement que ça aurait été en anglais puis que j'aurai fait l'effort pour que l'enfant va à l'école en français."[236] Thus while accommodation is common, even the norm in public settings, it is not always the norm within the home where it is clear that the language is valued.

For some, making French the primary language of the home is not an option because the partner is left out when the individuals speak French. Thus, out of respect for the partner who does not speak the language, these individuals speak French only when the unilingual person is not around. As with the examples of students shifting back and forth in class, these participants acknowledge that this concession is made because the French-speaker can manage in both languages. In doing so, individuals grow up in an environment where it is not only easy but also natural to revert to another language when they do not have the necessary vocabulary. That this concession comes with a certain sense of loss was acknowledged by some of my participants. As English becomes more and more present in the home, "le français disparait un p'tit peu."[237] For some, the French becomes a Franglais. For others, French disappears almost altogether.

[235] Lisa Loeffen.
[236] Lisa Loeffen.
[237] Carmen Weiskopf.

For the Anglophone partner, there is a concession as well. Not being able to help with homework, for example, can make French a frustrating rather than a positive part of home life. Some also shared that it was difficult to attend larger family functions where they were consciously or unconsciously left out of conversations and activities. This paper certainly does not seek to take a side on the issue but since it does want to explore the issue of allegiance, it is important to consider how my participants negotiate these two parts of their realities. While the unilingual partner may be left out, the child and bilingual partner, who tend to understand both languages, are sometimes forced to pick a side. In other cases, an individual may be fluent enough to understand the French but not fluent enough to answer in it so chooses to answer in English. This sometimes causes confusion with others in the larger family and/or the community since people are not sure if they should continue speaking French or if they should switch to English. In the end, being answered in English usually results in a switch to English overall and, from there, the habit is set.

The assumption that French, in all mixed families, will be assimilated is of course false and my study reveals that even when those born in the 1960s and 1970s were having children in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, it was common for both Francophones and Anglophones to not only value the language but to also work to pass French on to their children. For almost all my participants, the Anglophone parent valued French enough that they were willing to accept the difficulty of raising a child in a language that they did not always understand in order to have the child learn French. This was the case for Aline Coote who shares that her husband was very supportive. “Pour longtemps [mon mari] savait pas ce que les enfants disaient… Mais lui leur parlaient en français du mieux qu’y pouvait.” He kept doing his best and insisting on French because he always said, “‘You know you guys are SO LUCKY! It’s a gift that you guys have.”[238] Some found compromise, as was the case for Brienne, whose “mother said

[238] Aline Coote, Personal Interview, Corbeil, ON., November 30, 2016.

that on Sundays [they] had to speak French and [whose] dad was always game. Never once did [her] dad say, 'Speak English to me Brienne…' Although [she] just naturally spoke English to him… he never had an issue."[239]

It would appear from my participants' testimonies that while habit influences the language of the home, there is also the matter of progeny that impacts what language a household will come to privilege. For many, having children is ultimately what forced the issue of making French a priority. When speaking to Nathalie Boucher and Lisa Loeffen, for example, Nathalie explains that she sees a difference between her and Lisa because Lisa makes an effort to watch French movies and to listen to French music so that Magali is exposed to the language whereas while Nathalie may speak French at some point during her day, she does not make the same conscious effort to make it a part of her life.

2.2.5 Institutional Structures

Another important factor that ensures a language's vitality is the institutional structures that exist in a community to support the minority language. In Astorville in the 1960s and 1970s, the church and the school were still important social forums where French was spoken by members of all ages. When families gathered for holidays or met up in public places, they spoke French. Yet, even these were beginning to be more and more bilingual. The two dance halls in the community were playing English music. [240] English radio, and television were becoming common in homes throughout the village.[241] The local tavern was frequented by individuals who spoke mainly English. While the fight for French language education mobilised individuals in the area, the political efforts in Astorville, or even nearby North Bay where some French-speaking groups were formed, did not rival those made in larger centers like Sudbury. There many initiatives were creating a distinctly Franco-Ontarian culture: l'Institut franco-

[239] Brienne Kearns.
[240] Elmire Corbeil, Marie-Claire Vignola, and Diane Rakebrandt, Personal Interview. Astorville, ON., March 18, 2015.
[241] Roberta Bedard, Lorraine Carr, Jeannine Dawson Labrecque, Lucie Miller, Carole Perron, and Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., May 2, 2015.

ontarien, le Centre franco-ontarien de folklore, and la Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario. In larger cities, like Sudbury, this period also saw the creation of many important Franco-Ontarian artistic endeavours such as the creation a publishing house, a theater, an art gallery, and a music festival. Out of these initiatives was born the Franco-Ontarian flag; which was first flown in Sudbury on September 25, 1975.

In "L'État fédéral, le Québec et les minorités françaises. La marginalisation de la thèse des peuples fondateurs dans la presse française de Sudbury (1960-1975)," Michel Bock takes a statistical approach to tracing the effect of changing labels in popular media. Analysing the community and student newspapers in Sudbury from 1960-1975, he notes the amount of times the terms Canadien-français, Franco-ontarien, and Canadien de la langue française/d'expression française are used. Bock is clear that words are not arbitrary. Rather, "ils renvoient à des idées ou à des systèmes de pensées plus larges."[242] He concludes that the changing of terms in popular media from French-Canadian to Franco-Ontarian is a sign that "[o]n se voulait moderne et donc on rejet la tradition archaïque."[243] In other words, Bock argues, as the media adopted and used these new terms to define the group, there was an unconscious shift in collective memory that belied acceptance of a different world view – one that broke nostalgic ties with the past in favour of a modern, and non-Quebecois identity.

Bock's distinction between past and present is, however, complicated by the fact that the "French-Canadian" who became "Franco-Ontarian" was associating with an increasingly multicultural group of individuals who did not stem from Quebec – and so not from a shared and common heritage – but rather who were coming from various French-speaking countries around the world. Schools still

[242] Michel Bock, "L'État fédéral, le Québec et les minorités françaises. La marginalisation de la thèse des peuples fondateurs dans la presse française de Sudbury (1960-1975)" *La gouvernance linguistique: le Canada en perspective*, Edited by Jean-Pierre Wallot (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2005), 218.
[243] Bock, "L'État fédéral, le Québec et les minorités françaises," 219.

united the common linguistic interests of all, however lived experiences, rather than geographical distance between communities, became a way to differentiate one French-speaker from another. Bock's conclusion suggests that those Franco-Ontarians with past ties to Quebec saw their past as outdated and old-fashioned. But Juteau-Lee and Lapointe suggest that only those interested in social change and cultural programming, in other words only the elite and academics, were interested in defining themselves as Franco-Ontariens "alors que les francophones qui déterminent leur appartenance ethnique à partir des symboles culturels préfèrent s'identifier en tant que Canadien français (Juteau-Lee et Lapointe, 1979: 110)."[244] While Sudbury's French-speaking population was mobilising, the residents of Astorville, 124 kilometers away, remained untouched by these efforts to redefine the group.

It is clear that the 1960s and 1970s marked an important transition for all Canadians as the country came into its own. Encouraged by Trudeau's constitutional changes and a perceived increasing tolerance to all ethnic and cultural groups, French-Canadians benefitted from this revolutionary atmosphere by carving their own place within the nation as a distinct branch of French-speaking Canadians. In the 1960s and 1970s Franco-Ontarians became a distinct group of French-speaking people within Canada and it was at this point that the group grafted itself onto the collective memory. Importantly, it also contributed to creating the diverse and bilingual milieu into which the next generation was born.

2.3 Frogs in the Headlights

Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms gives all students whose native language is French, who received their elementary education in French, and/or whose parents received their education in an elementary or secondary level in a French-language education institution in Canada the right to receive education in either the province's French public or French Catholic schools where

[244] Bernard, *De Québecois à Ontarois*, 101.

numbers warrant.[245] Ideally, French-language schools provide a space within which French-speaking students are not bombarded with the hegemonic powers of mainstream English culture. These buildings should be attended by students who speak French at home and who want to live their French culture daily. Of course, the reality does not always match the theory. In recent texts, scholars such as Diane Gérin-Lajoie and Roger Bernard debunk the myth that French-language schools are frequented by a homogenous, French-speaking group of students.[246] They demonstrate that the majority of the individuals in these French-language institutions live predominantly English lives and that both students and staff must try to switch to French as they walk into the building. This is not an easy, or entirely realistic, feat to accomplish and so it is not surprising that in minority contexts French-schools have evolved to the point that English is spoken in the hallways and that students struggle to communicate in French.

Indeed, as the data presented above suggests, Astorville's demographic changed in the 1960s and 1970s. Between new, English-speaking residents coming to live in the area and the rising number of mixed marriages, the school was already seeing the consequence of an influx of native English-speakers on its students. The participants I quoted above also help to show the various ways that English and French were being negotiated in the home, as well as in the schoolyard. From outright abandonment to a mixture of both, only households with two Francophone parents could say that French was the **only** language spoken in the home. In all cases, however, English was very present outside the home. By the 1980s and 1990s, it was just normal for individuals to move back and forth between French and English in virtually all aspects of their lives.

[245] See Appendix F.
[246] Diane Gérin-Lajoie, "La problématique identitaire et l'école de langue française en Ontario" *Francophonies d'Amérique* no. 18 (2004), 171-179 and Bernard, "Les contradiction fondamentales de l'école minoritaire," 509-526

For the participants I interviewed who were born in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, a family's main language still dominates the initial language individuals speak to each other. As with their parents, these participants belie that individuals still have an accommodating mindset. Rather than pushing the issue and speaking French in public institutions or forcing the issue with people they know should and/or can speak French, they automatically switch to English. For Patrick Rochefort, for example, "les professeurs aussi essayait toujours de nous faire parler en français. B'en j'avais certains amis où que c'était toujours en français puis y en avait d'autre, on dirait ceux avec au moins un parent anglais, c'était plus en anglais. Mais quand que j'avais des amis que tous les deux étaient francophone, on parlait plus en français."[247] These habits transcend the school yard and make their way into home life, as Coralie explains: "[o]n parlait en anglais à l'école. Donc on a commencé à s'parler en anglais aussi."[248]

The reality of the environment is that switching back and forth has long term repercussions, as Lydia explains:

> with my siblings, probably part of it because my father was English. So you would, out of respect, speak English and then you'd just kind of start speaking. And I mean everything. Your TV shows and your books and your friends and just most of society is English so you… just start to speak more in English. And I also feel like confidence in the French. Like with a kid, your level of French is awesome but then speaking to other adults then having the right words when you're not using it all the time or the right terminology or expressions.[249]

These habits are cyclical. Parents model a behaviour of speaking English in public and in private with people they grew up speaking in English with that the children see, internalise, and repeat. This trend, it

[247] Patrick Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 24, 2016.
[248] Coralie Rochefort, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 16, 2016.
[249] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.

is clear, is sure to continue into the next generation as our children watch us interact with our partners, family, and friends.

The issue of fluency, which Lydia mentions above, is one that keeps many of my participants from feeling comfortable speaking French in public settings as the inability to speak "good" French turns them away from their mother tongue. This perception that joual is not the right kind of French comes from a number of sources. Part of the issue stems from the frequent back-and-forth between French and English that results in using English to supplement missing French vocabulary. Failure to know the right term and to use English instead can result in giving up on French altogether.

An equally important part of the problem lies in switching to English when others struggle with vocabulary and sentence structure or when one's accent is very strong. By switching to English, the person with the perceived better French signals to the other person that they are not speaking well enough to continue in French. This perception that some French is better than others is also present in French-language schools. As Jessica Perron explains: "Well, especially, you go to school, all French schools but the teachers are all from Quebec or like, very different French almost and like they notice every little like pronunciation mistake you make and they're constantly correcting you. It just gets to the point you're like!"[250] As we saw in the previous section, though some may make an initial effort to keep speaking French, eventually, it seems futile and people switch. For Pascal Laperrière, "avec ma sœur, je sais pas pourquoi. Je suppose que c'est le même phénomène un peu… J'essaye de faire un peu l'effort de lui parler en français mais elle me répond plus ou moins en anglais ça fait qu'après un bout d'temps j'fais juste changer comme."[251]

[250] Jessica Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., December 6, 2016.
[251] Pascal Laperrière.

What emerges in the answers of my participants from this age group that differs from their parents' is that English increasingly becomes the trendier language. "Oui," Marielle shares, "c'était 'loser' si tu parlais en français."[252] In some cases, English is the secret language parents and/or other family members use when they do not want the French-speaking child to understand. As children grow up and learn English, they become members of this special club.

Another source of the problem stems from both parents and teachers hounding kids to speak French. Frustrated by hearing their kids speak English, adults often try to crack down on the behaviour. By constantly reprimanding children for speaking English, many ultimately elevate the status and prestige of the language. In fact, some go so far in their militant approach as to come off rude and intolerant. In Pat Dégagné's case, his grandfather was so anti-English that if Pat brought an English friend with him to his grandfather's, they would not be able to talk until they were off the property. This militant approach is exactly what some of my participants claim to be their reason for identifying as Franco-Ontarian rather than French-Canadian. For them, being French-Canadian includes Quebec and "you get the French people from Quebec who are so strict about their language and speaking it and they refuse to speak English. I've had it happen to me. So [some] just associate that sort of behaviour and that sort of personality with all French people and it's not like that."[253] In their 2006 study of 3,934 students with Francophone heritage from all the Canadian provinces as well as from the states of Louisiana and Maine, Landry, Deveau, and Allard concluded that "lorsque les contacts avec la langue anglaise deviennent dominants, l'identité bilingue est associée à un affaiblissement de l'identité francophone et à

[252] Marielle Rochefort, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 16, 2016.
[253] Natasha Krauss, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2016.

une dominance croissante de l'identité anglophone."[254] In this sense, "l'identité bilingue," the choice to identify as being bilingual, is seen as negative rather than positive.

While being a hybrid or bilingual individual does not mean a complete abandonment of French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian identity, there is no denying that it does require giving something up. One item is linguistic proficiency. My participants acknowledge that with each passing generation, the language becomes more and more diluted. It is this Franglais, I believe, that leads some of my participants to claim that French will not only one day cease to exist in Astorville but, moreover, that it will be the next language to disappear from the planet. The two participants who voiced this belief seemed to see extinction as the natural evolution of French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture. Their body language, as they expressed this opinion, consisted of shrugging shoulders. Their apologetic tone was not angry but could rather be characterised as disappointed acceptance. In these participants, I saw an acceptance of the dominant discourse that French is a dying language. Despite their best efforts as parents and even as influential community members who had benefited from being able to speak and work in French, both participants had come to terms with the fact that in another hundred years, there probably would not be French in Astorville.[255] Their acceptance not only saddened me but also disappointed me. There is no denying that the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian language of today is not that of the past but that does not mean that people do not care. As the majority of my participants have clearly shown, people do care and French is accepted. In these comments that support a dominant discourse that French will die despite all efforts is evidence that even individuals who have made conscious efforts to keep the language alive do not believe their efforts are enough. Being told that the

[254] Rodrigue Landry, Kenneth Deveau, and Réal Allard, "Vitalité ethnolinguistique et construction identitaire: le cas de l'identité bilingue," *Éducation et francophonie* xxxiv, no. 1 (spring) (Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française, 2006), 75. Accessed April 1, 2017. Available www.acelf.ca/revue/pdf/XXXIV_1_054.pdf
[255] Rhéal Perron, April 7, 2016 and Rhéaume Rochefort.

language is destined to disappear may well be a self-fulfilling prophecy that is being circulated by the language's staunches supporters.

Michel Perron reminds us that these children are not just speaking two languages, they are also living in and between two cultures. "Les jeunes se disent bilingue… Si ta mère est de descendance anglophone. Puis ton père est de descendance francophone puis toi t'es issu de ces deux personnes là. Qui es-tu? B'en t'es un mélange des deux. Puis c'est c'qui r'connaissent. Y ont la capacité d'communiquer dans les deux langues, y ont r'çu l'héritage culturel et langagière de ces deux, leurs deux parents."[256] Today, there are few families that are completely, 100% French-Canadian. That means that we can work all we want to prevent assimilation, but we also have to accept that "l'hybridité identitaire se révèle une stratégie nécessaire et légitime pour un nombre croissant d'enfants des ayants droit francophones qui grandissent et qui actualisent leur identité dans des foyers exogames. C'est le cas des deux tiers environ des enfants des ayants droits francophones. Chez eux, doublement héritiers sur le plan culturel, la construction d'une forte identité francophone peut difficilement être dissociée d'une forte identité bilingue."[257] These are individuals living within the margins of both worlds trying to find a balance that works for them. The "balancier compensateur" is thus a very good symbol when thinking of the reality of those living in a minority situation where individuals must balance their own personal needs while also ensuring that they can survive. Furthermore, they must balance ideas of culture that tell them that French is both dying and vibrant. If people believe that French is doomed to be assimilated, they may, on one hand, stop trying and/or caring or, on the other hand, become militant in their approach to preserving the language.

[256] Michel Perron.
[257] Landry, Deveau, and Allard, "Vitalité ethnolinguistique et construction identitaire," 76.

Despite the fact that many of my participants dislike an aggressive, public approach to language preservation, many also recognise that sometimes a militant approach is necessary. Being bilingual does not mean giving up on French altogether and because they live in a predominantly Anglophone environment, children usually learn to speak English without any formal instruction. It is something "qu'ils vont attrapper,"[258] that they'll learn through "osmosis."[259] It is therefore important for many to insist on French at home. Some, for example Yvette Loeffen and Laurette Dégagné, refused to talk to their daughters growing up if they did not speak French. While their daughters initially bucked the rule, in the long run they are happy their mothers insisted. Even those not thinking of future children are happy, as adults, to speak the language. "Au début j'pensais c'était vraiment uncool – quand j'étais jeune," Coralie shares. "Mais maintenant, rendu à l'école, ça m'a donné vraiment un avantage. Et puis c'est plus facile d'apprendre une langue quand qu'on est plus jeune que quand qu'on était plus vieux."[260]

"Protecting French." "Fighting" for French. These terms are still very much a part of the collective ideology and prove that individuals have internalised the message that the French language is in danger of disappearing. "Losing" the ability to speak French is something many or my participants shared as a dangerous reality. As with their parents, many of the participants I interviewed from this age group were confident that they would speak French with their children even if they were not currently speaking French with their spouse. Many acknowledge that they did not value the language as children and/or as teens. Jessica Perron shares that

> honestly, when I was a teenager I didn't think it was important. I remember graduating from Algonquin and being "I NEVER have to speak French again!" and then growing up and being "Oh I really wish I would have practiced more." So when I have kids I'm gonna be forcing them to… I

[258] Lisa Loeffen.
[259] Jack Ecker.
[260] Coralie Rochefort.

> almost think it's like a regret. Like you know that it's just like a teenage thing, you know, and I think even in a French high school when you're constantly getting in trouble for speaking English, you want to speak English more… It's kind of, I don't want to say counterproductive but in a way, 'cause then speaking English is almost like a privilege... So when you can, you do it. And um French is harder. Especially writing. Like there's so many different verb tenses and masculin féminin and so English is way easier to write… So I think it's part of those things but then even though it's really hard, it's worth it afterwards.[261]

Laure Larocque echoes this feeling when talking about her relationship: "I think the sad part is we speak to each other in English. But I know that once we'll have kids we'll be, and it's nice that we both know how to speak French. Cause we'll be able to speak French, all the time, with our kids."[262] Speaking a language is not quite like riding a bicycle. Once out of practice, however, it is possible to pick it back up. This, however, participants like Aline, Amanda, and Jessica share, requires a conscious effort. It means practicing and reading in French to keep it going. It is thus perhaps not surprising that families see young children as a way back in. The vocabulary at that age is basic and singing songs and reading in French gets people back into the habit of speaking it.

Having a strong base at home is key to keeping a language alive, as we've seen above, and studies have demonstrated that

> l'effet de la francité familioscolaire est supérieur à celui de la vitalité ethnolinguistique, pouvant même effacer complètement l'effet de l'exogamie. Comme le confirme une étude antérieure (Landry et Allard, 1997), lorsque le parent francophone en situation d'exogamie assure à son enfant une forte francité familioscolaire, en lui parlant français et en choisissant l'école française

[261] Jessica Perron.
[262] Laure Larocque.

> pour sa scolarisation, non seulement l'enfant développe-t-il un haut niveau de bilinguisme, mais il acquiert des compétences langagières en français et une identité francophone équivalentes à celles des enfants dont les deux parents sont francophones.[263]

Creating a positive, rather than a negative association with the French language is key, as scholars have noted. This means creating positive opportunities for children to speak French. As Natasha Krauss points, out:

> I know a lot of the times with my students, the ones that are very capable of speaking in French… you'll catch them on the off day or the off time of day where they'll just… start speaking in English. Then I'll just go up to those kids and start talking to them in French. And then they'll answer you and they'll play with you… you can… just start a conversation in French. Then they'll just flip right back and talk in French. And not even, I don't think, realise that they've switched languages again. And I'm testing that theory with the grade 3, 4s now… They'll start just talking to each other in English and then I'll go and I'll start talking to them in French and then they'll answer me back in French and when I leave you can hear them sort of keeping on the conversation and it's in French.[264]

Indeed, Gérin-Lajoie demonstrates that this shift in language within schools does not equate with a loss of pride in, and connection to, French-Canadian heritage. On the contrary, her work reveals that individuals remain connected to their roots and that they actively engage in passing them on to younger generations. While the shift in schools is certainly problematic, it raises important questions about what constitutes an authentic Francophone. As Monica Heller argues in her article "'Langue', 'communauté' et 'identité': le discours expert et la question du français au Canada," "le virage actuel nous éloigne d'une

[263] Landry, Deveau, and Allard, "Vitalité ethnolinguistique et construction identitaire," 75.
[264] Natasha Krauss.

conceptualisation dans laquelle l'organisation sociale serait stable, fixe avec des frontières et des critères d'inclusions et d'exclusions claires."[265] My data supports that "a lot of people that live in the Astorville area… don't speak French or can and choose not to. [But] they still have their kids going to a French school, like they still want French to be a part of what their kids grow up to learn."[266]

In the 2011 census, only 36% of East Ferris residents identified French as their mother tongue. This is a drastic drop in numbers if we consider that, in 1890, 50 of 53 members of the founding members of the Agricultural Society were French. Such statistics are certainly cause for concern as they seem to support the theory that French will eventually disappear. Some of my participants claim that their mother tongue is both French and English. As for the language most often spoken at home, many say it is also both. Unless one is politically minded, it is likely that others, like some of my participants, will check English rather than French on the census form and so not give a complete picture of home life. My participants have made me wonder what counts more when it comes to answering these forms: conversations among adults or conversations between parents and children? When the children leave and the parents are alone and only speaking English, one may answer that the household is English, because it is, but that does not mean that all the individuals living in the home are Anglophone. As Sylvie Laperrière indicates: "on parle en anglais ici mais quand même j'totallement francophone, t'sais."[267] Understanding what people identify with, what they feel, is not part of the census. The imprecise information has the ability to both help and hinder the cultural group. On one hand, the drop in the number of French-language speakers and people with French as their mother tongue provides the need and opportunity to create programs and generate funds to help this marginalised group so it will not

[265] Heller, "'Langue', 'communauté' et 'identité': le discours expert et la question du français au Canada."
[266] Natasha Krauss.
[267] Sylvie Laperrière.

disappear. On the other hand, negative images of culture and of self have the potential to make those who struggle with French give up rather than persevere because they see their efforts as futile.

If only 36% of the population has French as their mother tongue, it would stand to reason that the local French elementary school would be suffering. On the contrary, the school has exceeded enrolment numbers projected before the new school was built. This means that those without French as their mother tongue see not only the value, but also the need, to learn the language. Some say that sending English speaking children to French-language schools to learn French is hurting our French-language system. As we've seen above, integrating more and more English-speakers does dilute the French spoken in the building and causes tension. However, it does also ensure that French schools remain open. Within these spaces, students learn not just the language but also the traditions and rituals such as la St. Jean and carnival. While the schools may introduce some to these practices, in other cases they are reinforcing what students live at home.

My participants, both English and French, considered the French language an asset mostly because it gives either themselves or their children advantages in the workplace. In this sense, many feel that French-speakers have an advantage over their unilingual English peers. Some have used their ability to speak French to acquire more business than a unilingual English company. Others report having been hired over other candidates because they could speak French. Older participants even acknowledge that the French population seems prouder overall these days because people now speak French in public places. That there is added value in being bilingual is recognised today by not just French people, but English speakers also. "Quand on voit de plus en plus d'anglophones s'inscrire dans une école francophone c'est parc' qui comprennent la valeur, la valeur ajouté," Michel Perron shares. "Et pourquoi nier ça à leurs enfants. Y a de plus en plus de gens qui voient la différence entre un système d'immersion et un système d'éducation de langue française. Une grosse, grosse différence. Un est un programme

l'autre est une éducation de langue française."[268] According to many of my participants, this is a bilingual country and, to participate fully, one must speak both languages.

Memory, as we have seen, is an essential element in the construction of identity. Creation stories, whether they be of a religious or cultural nature, form the foundation on which cultures are built. The story of French-Canadians in Ontario is a story of struggle against an oppressive, English-speaking force. While the majority of my participants may not recognise it, this narrative of conflict continues to influence their relationships with others and their own ways of seeing themselves. By speaking English out of respect and needing to learn English to have good career opportunities and to interact with others in the community, it can be argued that individuals maintain a social hierarchy that privileges English.

In "Essor et déclin du Canada français," Fernand Dumont insists that French-Canadians still exist, and they exist in the collective memory of all French-speaking communities of Canada. The notion of a unified French-Canada, that utopic but elusive community of the past, has not disappeared, but it has evolved.[269] As Table 3 demonstrates, a large number of people still identify as being French-Canadian today.

Table 3: Cultural Labels Adopted by Interviewees

	French-Canadian	**Franco-Ontarian**	**Both**	**Other**
Born between 1920-1939	2	2		Canadian: 4
Born between 1940-1959	4	1	1	St. Lucian: 1
Born between 1960-1969	3			
Born between 1970-1979	4	3		
Born between 1980-1989	6	3	1	
Born between 1990-1999	3	3		
Born between 2000-present		2	1	
Total	22	14	3	5

[268] Michel Perron.
[269] Fernand Dumont, "Essor et déclin du Canada français," *Recherches sociographiques* 38, no. 3 (1997), 420.

My participants value the ability to speak French and their ties to their French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian heritage. They also purposefully want to pass these values on to their children. Through this long-established process of negotiation, we see that the Francophones of Astorville have long been "transnational" beings. Defined as "the awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnection across differences,"[270] this theoretical framework allows "scholars [to] explore the movement of goods, ideas and people across the national boundaries wherein gender, class and race function simultaneously. It challenges the idea that nations, and the people living there, operate in discrete domains."[271] As McLeod Arnopoulos illustrates, by the 1970s, many Francophones in *Nouvel-Ontario* fit into the category of the "marginal man," which sociologists define as "a member of a cultural, racial, or linguistic minority who is forced to relate to the majority."[272] In Astorville, as in other places in Ontario, French-speaking Canadians have had to learn to balance their French and English selves if they are to be happy and productive members of society.

What does it mean to be French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian to my participants? I would like to end this chapter with a few statements that I feel summarise the complexity of this question. Consider Amanda Beaudry's answer, whose daughter opened this chapter: "Je suis comme un, un faire-à-semblant Franco-Ontarien. Ça jamais été important pour moi avant que je me mets à l'perdre puis je réalise que, 'Woah! Ça c'est important pour moi.' Je l'avais pas à cœur avant ça. So j'me dis, j'tu vraiment Franco-ontarienne ou est-c'que j'ai juste décidé que, minute là, c'est important donc j'suis mieux de pas le perdre et je veux le donner à eux autre?"[273] Natalie Weiskopf's answer: "Okay so y a être Québécois. Ou y a être le restant du monde qui parle français au Canada. Puis en d'dans du groupe du restant du

[270] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3-4.
[271] Jennifer Evans, "'She never did cook the Canadian way': Immigrant Women's Changing Relationship with food and Cooking in Postwar North Bay, Ontario" (MA diss, Nipissing University, 2009).
[272] Arnopolous, *Voices from French Ontario*, 169.
[273] Amanda Beaudry, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.

monde qui vient du Canada, y a les franco-ontariens qui est moi… Mes filles vont être française de l'Outaouais. So y vont avoir une différente identité. Mais y vont savoir que leur mère est franco-ontarienne du nord de l'Ontario."[274] Brienne Kearns' answer: "in cities… it is French people coming from everywhere. And… I had a hard time at first cause I couldn't see myself in the school. Like I didn't identify with the French that I ALWAYS grew up with. All of a sudden I'm in an international French and, although you know it's so cool in a lot of aspects cause you're learning a lot… you fit in in a different way cause everybody fits in in a different way there."[275] And, finally, France Carroll: "B'en la langue française c'est… Ça m'dis beaucoup. It's me. T'sais j'veux dire… Puis je l'dis en anglais. Le franglais… C'est ma famille plus française… C'est tradition… C'est la continuité vraiment. J'veux vraiment, vraiment que mes enfants soient bilingues. Complètement bilingue. Et francophone… Des choses traditionelles… Je sais pas comment d'autre l'expliquer… Moi. Where I come from."[276]

The French language is an undeniable part of being French-Canadian and/or Franco-Ontarian, yet, as this chapter has worked to demonstrate, speaking French is only one element in the definition of what it means to be French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian. Family, history, and experiences also define the members of this group. The next chapters will develop some of these other crucial pieces to understanding what it means to be part of this ethnic and cultural group by looking more specifically at the group's foodways. Indeed, folklorists have long studied rituals and practices as a way of understanding how individuals construct their personal identities in relation to the larger group. These rituals and practices bind individuals together to form a community. "Quels sont les éléments symboliques qui peuvent mobiliser les intérêts du groupe ethnique?" Bernard asked in his 1988 work *De Québecois à Ontarois: La communauté franco-ontarienne*. "Est-ce que le nouvel élément d'identification

[274] Natalie Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 17, 2016.
[275] Brienne Kearns.
[276] France Carroll, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., November 28, 2016.

sera partagé par un assez grand nombre de membres de l'ethnie pour que le groupe puisse maintenir des frontières autour de cet élément?"[277] From the beginning, a common language, shared agricultural lifestyle, and close families with similar practices and values have been important in defining the borders of this community and in creating bonds between individuals living within it. Astorville's founding families established deep, solid roots in this place and these roots, we will see, have certainly played a big role in the way this community has evolved.

[277] Bernard, *De Québecois à Ontarois*, 111.

Reflection 2

I head to Walmart after the coffee shop to get a present for my nephew's birthday. For the first time in a long time, we'll be leaving town for the Easter weekend. Normally we stay home since both our extended families come to Astorville. This year, however, my sister-in-law is working the weekend and we thought it might be nice to show the girls Easter in Orillia and then connect with Will's family down south. It's also my nephew's birthday so it'll be nice to be there for his party.

On my drive through town I can't help but feel a little guilty about missing Good Friday dinner at my grandfather's. My whole family will be there of course but I'm saddest about missing a chance to see Brienne. Growing up, she was my best friend. We saw each other every long weekend and they would come for all the holidays. We would be inseparable, locking ourselves away in a room to talk and play. When people like Sylvie and France tell me that, growing up, their cousins were their best friends, I can absolutely relate. My family was my world. My siblings and I had our extracurricular activities, of course, and we met up with people from school on different occasions but my family was… Well. Everything really. It's all I ever knew.

Even as an adult, my family is very important. They are hugely supportive and they are very present. Growing up there was no question: every day of the holiday was family time. Now that I'm an adult with a career, a husband, and a family of my own, making all these family gatherings is more difficult. I know that everyone understands that it isn't possible to be at everything all the time but part of me always feels a little empty knowing I'm not there. It's the same feeling I get though when I'm not at an event our friends have organised.

Life is busy and my family is big. I've always found comfort in knowing there are people there for me if I need them. But I also know that family dynamics change with time. At what point

do families reshuffle? We don't meet with the larger Rochefort family except for maybe carnival and, even then, everyone leaves the rink to go hang out with their more immediate clan. This is bound to happen to my own family.

As I pull in to my parking spot I notice Ray, an old friend from high school, getting out of the car across from me.

"Hey there!" I shout as I cross the laneway.

"Emily!" he exclaims in surprise when he notices me. "Wow! Hey. It's been forever!" He pauses a moment from taking the car seat out of the backseat of the car to give me a quick hug. "What's up? Where've you been? You still in town?"

"Yeah, yeah," I answer. "Working at Algonquin. Have two kids. You?"

"Oh, I'm just in town for Easter. Came a few days early actually since I'm on parental leave. Marjorie will meet us here tomorrow but I thought I'd come spend some time with my folks. We live in Toronto now and don't make it home as often as they'd like. You know how it is. So anyway, Marj is out in Calgary for a conference and had to fly home anyway. She'll just fly into North Bay instead of Toronto. Hey, this is my son Jacks."

I reach down to pick up the receiving blanket that's fallen off the car seat and put it into Jacks' outstretched arms. He smiles as I say hello.

"That's cool. How are your parents? Are they still out in Astorville?"

"Oh yeah! They'll never move. Well, that's not exactly true. They did build themselves a new house a couple of years ago."

“Really! That’s surprising. That house they were in has been in your family for, what? Like four generations?”

“Five, actually. No. They gave it to my sister. She lives there now with her husband so the house is still in the family. But my parents figured that they deserved a new home – one with a decent sized kitchen.”

“I remember hanging out there, eating on the stairs cause there wasn’t enough room to eat together.”

“Imagine when the whole family showed up and you tried to put twenty to thirty people in that space! It was wild!”

“So how’s Toronto? That must have been a big change for both you and Marjorie.”

“Good, good. You know. It was tough at first. Not knowing anyone. Sometimes I find my sister has it so much easier. My parents are right there across the street. She can go over any time she wants and when she needs help with the kids, there’s always someone around to bail her out. We didn’t have that same sense of comfort and home at first in Toronto. But it’s getting easier. Jacks has helped. Our connection with the people around us has really taken a whole new level in the six months since he was born. We have people I’d trust with him if we needed to. Marj works a lot of late nights and my job’s more flexible but, still, sometimes you just can’t control how the day goes and I miss my family for that.”

“It *is* nice,” I agree. Family is one of the best security blankets in the world. I’ve never had to worry about my kids at the end of the day. Between my sister and my mother, we’ve never had any issues and we know there’s always an aunt or a cousin, someone else around, if we ever get really stuck. “I would find that really hard. Having to build that social network and that support system.”

“It wasn’t easy. But now our friends are our family. We live in this great neighbourhood with lots of young parents and we’ve started our own traditions. Like in October we have this huge street party with tons of food and it’s so much fun! It feels like family. Family without the pressure,” he adds laughing.

“Ha ha,” I chuckle. “Family does sometimes create a lot of pressure.”

“As much as I sometimes wish we lived here, you know Jacks would be in class and school with all of his cousins and would be close to both sets of grandparents and get to play in the bush the way we did as kids, sometimes it’s nice to have that distance. Before we left for Toronto, there were weekends when Marj and I barely had time to ourselves because there was so much going on. We couldn’t just tell our parents we wanted some alone time. They didn’t get it. And we’d have to pick between both sides – like both sets of parents wanted us there. I don’t know how kids with four sets of parents do it. We could barely manage with two! So going to Toronto has given us some space. Now when we come home it’s full-on family for however many days and then we go back.”

“I remember a Christmas when Will and I had said we would start our own Christmas night dinner tradition. My parents didn’t understand why we’d want to stay home alone when we could be with the bigger family.”

“Exactly. But it’s all good. I think we’ll come back here someday. I do miss it. We both miss it. I’m lucky to only be in Toronto. My brother Brent is out in Vancouver and hasn’t been home in two years.”

“Oh wow! That’s tough.”

“Yeah. Between my mom and dad coming to Toronto and us coming home, Jacks here still gets that contact with my parents. He’ll be physically present at Easter, say. He’ll get to

touch my mom. Brent's kids FaceTime a lot but it's not quite the same. Anyway, I should get going. I need some formula for this dude and then need to get to my parents' for dinner. It was nice seeing you!" Ray continues as we both turn and start walking toward the store.

"You too! Say hi to Marj for me. I don't think I've seen either of you since that first summer after university. It'd be good to catch up sometime when you're in town."

"For sure. I'll let her know. And I'll put you on the list," he laughs.

As I enter Walmart I am immediately confronted with the huge display of Easter chocolates, candy, and decorating paraphernalia. It suddenly dawns on me that I'm the Easter Bunny! Easter is only a few days away and I've been so busy that I have completely forgotten to buy chocolate! Normally we host my father's family on Easter Sunday so I would have been thinking about decorating and planning the weekend but since we'll be gone, it hadn't even registered that I still need to take care of this. The shelves are already picked over but I manage to find a few Kinder Surprise eggs for the girls, some Cadbury Mini Eggs for Will, and some milk chocolate Lindt Bunnies for myself. I throw these quickly into my basket and head to the toy section to find a present.

As I walk through the crowded store I see Easter bunnies, chicks, and chocolates couched in pastel displays everywhere. It's tempting to pick up more sweets but, as I pass the towel section, I decide instead to pick up Shopkin bath towels for both girls. I remember being a kid and finding books or toys Easter morning. The chocolate disappeared quickly but the stuff carried over into the rest of the year reminding me of the holiday. Right now, Easter is all about the chocolate for the girls. Karena actually told me the other day that she hoped the Easter Bunny would hide his goods outside because she always seems to get more on those occasions than when he hides his stuff in her bedroom. I couldn't tell her that that was because those years my mother had been the Easter Bunny. It doesn't bother me that Easter weekend is mostly

about the candy for them. They also look forward to the family gatherings and they do talk about the Passion of Christ at school so they know the bigger reason for Easter. I want them to know about this important element of the Catholic religion. At the same time, it makes sense to me, not just for kids who are seven and five but for all adults, that the death of Jesus is not the focus of the weekend.

What does matter to me in relation to Easter? If I'm honest with myself, I can't separate Good Friday from going to church, from reciting "Crucifis-le!" with the rest of the congregation as we play our part of the script. When I think Easter, I think purple. I hum "Voici le bois de la croix." I want to bellow "Oh! Gethsémani." I think of being at grand-maman and grand-papa's. Of my uncle fasting while we eat. Will my kids have this same symbolic and religious attachment to Easter? If we leave town every year, I think the answer is "no." If we stay here for the weekend, I think the answer is "yes" because we'll be going to church.

What does disappoint me about my role in the weekend is the lack of preparation I've done. Easter comes at the end of Lent and, growing up, that meant we were supposed to give something up; make a sacrifice to prepare us for Easter. I don't do that anymore. I hated doing it as a kid. But while I was interviewing people my age, I was really surprised at how many families are still following that tradition. Some, like Amanda, have really cool systems, almost like a game, to get their kids reflecting on just being a good person and doing things for others. For them, it's not a major lifestyle change – like giving up smoking or pop – which some of my participants have charged stories about. But it does create that pause and that interiorising that is the whole point of Lent. I wonder if I could sustain a system like that. It takes work and commitment from the parent who is going to make that happen and I'm not very consistent when it comes maintaining systems. I like the idea of it but we're so busy that I don't know if it would last more than a week. I have a hard time getting the girls' homework done most nights.

I was even surprised to learn that a number of people still only eat fish on Fridays. Fridays, for me, are unwind days. I'm looking for a steak on the barbeque, or pasta, or nachos, or wings once the girls are in bed. A comfort food. Fish is good, but it's light and requires prep. I find it needs a sauce. It can't stand it on its own. Maybe the other foods I've listed are a lot of work too but they just seem easier. Besides, there is no way I could talk Will into Fish Fridays. Could I? The thought that maybe I'm being a bit of a hypocrite with this project flashes through my head again. Here I am, researching traditions I don't even follow. Traditions I like in theory but have little intention to practice. Maybe the difference is in the partner? If Will had grown up with these customs too, maybe it would seem like less of an effort on my part to introduce them. Is it possible that the difference between me and others, like Amanda and France, has to do with the fact that both their parents had also lived these customs whereas my family had two parents from two different cultures? I can't imagine my mother getting much support from my father if it had come down to a fight with us about giving something up for Lent. My father isn't a religious person. Maybe it has to do with food preferences? My mother never seemed particularly fond of fish. Maybe that's why we didn't eat much of it growing up even though my father did go fishing in Algonquin Park every spring.

Mixed marriages are cited as being one of the reasons for the assimilation of French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians because it has been documented that in mixed-language households, English usually dominates at the expense of French. While I do believe that this does happen, I think the assimilation is as much cultural as it is linguistic. It's in dropping habits and customs, by folding into mainstream society that we lose part of our cultural heritage. My girls know about the Passion of Christ, about the Catholic origin and explanation for Easter, because they go to a French-Catholic elementary school. If they were in the public system, it would be up to me to teach them this story or to bring them to church to get it. Would I? Maybe I would. I care enough about Shakespeare that I've read them children's versions of *A*

Midsummer Night's Dream and *Romeo & Juliet*. I care enough about *le mois de Marie* to sing them the songs my mother used to sing us as children during the month of May. I haven't gone so far as to build her an alter or even to sing the songs every night, but between the *Chaplet vivant* at school and singing the songs a few times during the month, the girls do recognise May as a month with its own unique and special celebration. Maybe if they hadn't heard about Jesus at school I would have explained it to them. But I know that this is all on me. Will won't share these stories because they are not important to him. It's no different, really, than me wanting them to know about *Star Wars* or *Star Trek*. And no different than him wanting them to know country music legends like Red Sovine, George Strait, or Merle Haggard. Listening to those songs reminds him of his youth and he wants to share those experiences with his kids.

Perhaps the difference is in the experience. Being swung up in the air while my mom sang "Au ciel! Au ciel! Au ciel!" was fun! It was a contrast to having to sit quietly in church for an extra-long Good Friday mass and then go kiss the cross. The same is true with my own girls. Belting out "Daddy's Girl" is something they enjoy. And these activities bring us, as parents, joy too. Will doesn't get into the religious songs and I personally can't stand Red Sovine but we know that these are important parts of each other and that they are experiences we want to share with our kids. I can imagine though, that in some marriages this openness might not be the case. I don't remember my father ever saying anything negative about church but he didn't come unless it was a special occasion. This modeled for us an understanding that church was important to some but not to all. Indeed, it surely undermined what my mother was trying to instill in us. When going to church became our choice, we more often than not chose not to go. This is no different than what happened for many other participants my age. Indeed, the fact that we had a choice at all is much different than what my mother went through. I don't know that my mother would have felt she had a choice when we were growing up. Everyone in her family

attended mass every Sunday. To do otherwise would have been to challenge a system her parents had always enforced. Challenging any established system is difficult.

As I wander through the Ninja Turtle section weighing my present options, I see one with "What's Your Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles Pizza Topping?" written in bold, orange, green, and white capital letters. There's a picture of the four turtles surrounding a box of pizza. Ah yes, I remember from watching the show as a kid. Pizza. A Turtle's food of choice. If the Ninja Turtles can be firmly linked to pizza, so any of can us be linked to anything. While their diet may be limited to one staple food item, we, in 2017, are not. When planning big celebrations and meals, one must consider who's coming for dinner. With a big crowd, there are certain options that don't make sense because they would not provide enough food. When certain food traditions are established, they are sometimes hard to change not because there isn't better food out there but because people like the food and look forward to it. To change a menu just because it's not trending says that certain recipes are not good enough. Altering a menu because the food takes too much time to make is a sign that the recipe is no longer realistic for one's circumstances. Replacing ingredients or foods with healthier options shows that indulgences must be tempered. Making dinners pot luck allows everyone present to be part of the planning and helps offset the effort and the cost of the meal. These changes, seeing how people accommodate the varying societal pressures and realities, allow us to see how we as a cultural group have changed over time.

In the end, I pick up a package of Pokemon cards and a Star Wars Lego kit. I don't know if my nephew likes Star Wars, but I feel it's important for him to learn about this major cultural phenomenon. I don't personally understand Pokemon, but I do know he collects the cards and, as an equally powerful cultural force, I'm all for encouraging a vocabulary and familiarity that will allow him to be part of his social network. Aren't these, in the end, what forming the next generation is all about? We want them to understand who we are as individuals within a family

and within society. We want them to know where they come from and what we've cared about. As they grow up, they'll reshuffle the deck – prioritise certain aspects of their past and form a new version of family and culture based on what they have been exposed to. I can almost guarantee though that, like me, their priorities will remind them of happy times. If these activities are done in French or in English will depend on partly on whether or not they were done in French or English in the first place. It will also depend on if the people are still speaking French.

Walking to the cash I glimpsed Ray and Jacks in the produce section and I think of what it would be like to live out of town like he and his brother do. Though it's true that nothing beats the real thing and that his brother's children will not experience Easter or Christmas the way Ray's do, I'll bet that Brent does maintain traditions that are important to him. If my great-aunt learned to make cipaille when she got to Spain by writing home to her sister-in-law for the recipe, I'm sure that Brent will figure out how to make what matters to him so that his children live at least part of the experience. When they eat these foods, they will talk about the past and, in doing so, shape a future generation that sees these foods as important. Astorville, after all, was founded by people who migrated and brought their traditions with them. They too figured out how to make what was good and comforting and adapted their recipes and expectations to their circumstances. They too certainly had to let some habits go to fit the world in which they were living. They too would have shuffled and prioritised cultural references as they defined what it meant to live in Astorville.

Chapter 3: If Food Be the Heartbeat of Life, Bake On! Defining French-Canadian Foods and Celebrations

While language is certainly one element to focus on when studying French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians, other elements are just as significant and merit closer attention than what has been given in the literature thus far. As the previous discussion about language skills and regional history has demonstrated, it is important to look at specific cultural symbols that exist in a minority community in order to understand how individuals actively engage in habits that tie them to others. Like any other culture, French-Canadians have used a material past to make sense of the present. As we saw in Chapter 2, objects, such as buildings and roads, are one way that the past continues to influence present ideas of culture and identity. Face-to-face interactions with family members also maintains ideas of self and group identity as people gather to share and celebrate moments that matter to them. As I showed in Chapter 1, as much as traditions "reflect and shape culture, rituals also serve as a kind of 'traditionalizing instrument,' capable simultaneously of creating a sense of natural process, legitimating the social group and its values, commanding attention, and asserting a cultural reality."[278] By repeating traditions, individuals communicate to others and affirm to themselves that the narrative of the past is still important and valid.

Studying foodways is a means through which we can gather these stories. In both *Baking as Biography* and *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*, Diane Tye and Janet Theophano show that cookbooks teach us about the individuals within a community as well as these people's "shared understandings about what its members did and what mattered in their lives."[279] It is clear from my interviews that my participants use the past to define their own traditional foodways.

[278] Kathy Neustadt, *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), 149.
[279] Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2002), 24. See also Diane Tye, *Baking as Biography: A Life Story in Recipes, (*Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

In this chapter, I move the discussion specifically to look at the public and private ways my participants use traditional foods to express their cultural identity. Studying common practices and rituals, as folklorists and performance studies scholars have done, we can understand how individuals construct their personal identities in relation to the larger group. If we return to Juteau's three key elements for a group to be considered a community, we see that studying traditional foodways is a good way to test a group: traditional foods are tied to the group's culture (religion, lifestyle, morals, and values); their presence in French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian homes structures and defines the group; and individuals both in and outside the group recognise these foods as being culturally representative.

Using the past, in other words continuing to make certain foods and to share food-related stories to create continuity between past and present, is an important strategy for any group but more so for a group that is a minority. French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians, we saw in Chapter 2, have used the past to reshape and delimit their physical and ideological spaces and borders. Telling stories of the past, for example the struggle and fight for a French high school, allows individuals to write the present. For many of my participants, the result of being in a minority situation has resulted in being bilingual. Consequently, for many of my participants, being bilingual has come to be a defining characteristic of a French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian. This example of rewriting history shows how "the transformation of history stands as one of the most strategic and powerfully effective modes of cultural resistance."[280] Since more and more individuals categorise themselves as bilingual, I wondered if the changes to the linguistic characteristic of the group is also being reflected in its foodways.

The previous chapter considered the public battles fought by French-speaking Canadians and Ontarians to preserve and expand the public education system that has supported and maintained the group. Since studying a cultural group should not rest solely on an analysis of either public or private

[280] Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformations* (London: Routledge, 2001), 83.

narratives, I contrasted these public manifestations for linguistic preservation with more private ones within homes and between friends. My personal story, similarly, is but one narrative, one perspective, that needs to be compared and contrasted to those of others in order for a clear understanding of this cultural group to emerge.

This chapter will begin by trying to define what constitutes French-Canadian food for my participants. It will apply some of the same characteristics my participants identified in Chapter 2 as being defining features of French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians (i.e. ties to Quebec and big families) to the foods they have listed as being representative of our culture. Understanding which occasions are celebrated and analysing the food that is consumed during these occasions is telling of how individuals subscribe to larger cultural practices. Thus this chapter will then explore the competing issues of fasting and feasting related to the French-Canadian celebrations of Easter, mass, and Christmas.

3.1.1. What is Traditional, French-Canadian Food?

In Chapter 1, I explained that the foods I would include in this study are the ones my participants identified as being "French-Canadian." The aim of this project is not to suggest that any of these foods are in any way inherently "Canadian," "French-Canadian," or "Franco-Ontarian."[281] While Chapter 4 will discuss how food items and the ingredients that make up these foods have their own biographies, this chapter is concerned with understanding what my participants consider to be traditional, French-Canadian food and the contexts in which these foods are present. Just as knowing how they use and view the French language helps us see how these individuals identify with the larger cultural group,

[281] For such discussion see for example Rhona Richmann Kenneally, "There *is* a Canadian cuisine, and it is unique in all the world": Crafting National Food Culture during the Long 1960s," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History*, Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 167-196 and Elizabeth Driver, "Regional Differences in the Canadian Daily Meal? Cookbooks Answer the Question," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History*, Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 198-212.

understanding how they view the foods they consider characteristic of the culture will help us see other aspects of the cultural picture.[282]

Determining a definitive list of French-Canadian traditional foods has proven to be difficult. When I asked my participants to make a Top 5 list of traditional, French-Canadian foods, almost everyone easily rhymed off two or three and then struggled to name two or three more. During her interview, my sister Natalie asked me why I was only asking her about traditional, French-Canadian foods. If I really wanted to know how the group's foodways have evolved, she pointed out, I should just be asking my participants what they consider traditional and allow them to also list foods that are not French-Canadian. She was, of course, absolutely right. I had narrowed my focus too much. Moreover, while participants were identifying certain foods as French-Canadian, the fact that these foods were not part of their foodways meant that they were traditional in theory but not significant enough that they may be passed on to future generations. When I asked for traditional foods, without any pressure that they be French-Canadian, it was much easier for them to come up with a list. These second lists usually combined French-Canadian foods and foods with other cultural origins. The table I have included in Appendix G tallies the foods my participants consider traditional to them when I conducted my interviews in 2016.

I am thankful for Natalie's question as I feel the answers that generated this final list account for my participants' mixed heritage as well as the adoption of international foods and ingredients. As I interviewed Natalie about halfway through my research process, the list I have included in the appendix does not, unfortunately, include the "other food" answers from all my participants. In order to compensate, however, I have also included foods my participants spent a lot of time reminiscing about

[282] For similar examples from other cultures see David Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) and Neustadt, *Clambake*.

during their interviews.[283] The top five French-Canadian foods are clearly cipaille, tourtière, baked beans, roasts, and pies. Other popular foods included: mac & cheese, venison, ham, bouili aux fêves, patates à galettes, homemade jam, meatloaf, homemade bread, homemade soup, Shepherd's pie, and Christmas cookies and desserts. Poutine came up often as well but usually as part of a debate my participants would have as to whether or not the poutine served at chip stands counted as real French-Canadian fare or if this association stems from the fact that Sturgeon Falls, a very French community, is associated with making good poutine. Fish and chips came up often as well with people usually talking about freshly caught fish.

That certain foods, for certain people, are not being passed on touches on the first part of the definition of traditional food I advanced in Chapter 1. Because these foods fall too far from one's reality, these foods have a nostalgic connotation that is associated with an idealised, rural past rather than a contemporary, material reality. For example, Natalie shared that creton (head cheese), partridge, and blood sausage were, in her opinion, French-Canadian because she had read a number of books about the past and French-Canadians were always making and eating these foods during pioneer days.[284] Aline Coote also shares that her impressions of traditional foods are shaped to a certain extent by the similar depictions of pioneer life she has read about in French-Canadian books.[285] Bernard Rochefort's book *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s* certainly supports Natalie and Aline's association between these specific foods and a past, rural existence. In his chapters about farm and domestic life, he explains in detail, and even includes many paintings of, the practices associated with these and other food traditions. In doing so, he shows the reader the process of obtaining and preparing

[283] A reminder also that not all participants did the open-ended question survey.
[284] Natalie Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., Janurary 17, 2016.
[285] Aline Coote, Personal Interview, Corbeil, ON., November 30, 2015.

foods we have come to associate with French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture.[286] In painting these foods onto a landscape of the past – one that does not resemble the Astorville of today – he essentially memorialises practices that have died.

However, while Aline and Bernard did hunt grouse as children and young adults, neither does so anymore and Natalie has never really eaten partridge. Aline loves eating creton and is always excited for Christmas morning because her husband will gift her a pot of it. Natalie does not eat creton. Neither woman makes either creton or blood sausage. This tendency to name foods that people considered traditional because they had repeatedly heard about them came out often during the interviews and there is a distinct contrast between these foods that are being considered part of the past and foods that continue to be made today.

In Chapter 1, I shared that everyday food habits and habits related to special occasions are very closely related as they reinforce a person's daily choices. Thus, while partridge may not be something Aline or Natalie make themselves, others, like France Carroll, Natasha Krauss, and Pat, Stacy, Hailly, and Cole Dégagné enjoy eating it on a regular basis. Furthermore, hunting is an important ritual for this latter group. Through the act of hunting and gathering their own food, they see themselves continuing a tradition not only handed down to them by their ancestors but that also, because members of various generations hunt together, physically connects members of both their families and their communities together. Wild game is not only an important way for France, Natasha, Pat, Stacy, Hailly, and Cole to save money but a way to also eat food they consider to be better for them than the meat they would purchase in a grocery store. In these opposing views of the same traditional food we see that the

[286] Bernard Rochefort, *Paintings and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s* (Tête du lac Publications: Astorville, 2010).

meaning and value of food depends on personal choices and interpretations of "good" versus "bad" food.

Chapter 1 also defined traditional foods as those that come from an ethnicity other than French-Canadian or British. Foods such as kale for Lisa Loeffen, spätzle for the Weiskopfs, or piragatas for Megan Frederick, are examples of this second aspect of the definition I propose since the participants made a conscious link between these and their respective Dutch, German, and Finnish heritage. In contrast to these "other" foods, my participants did name foods they felt were still very current examples of traditional, French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian foods. The table below, which is a list of the foods my participants made for their culinary chats, demonstrates the hybridity of the traditional foods valued by my participants.

Table 4: Food Made for Culinary Chats

Food Item	**People Who Made It**
Barbequed Chicken	Patrick Rochefort
Chipits Cake	Natalie Weiskopf
Christmas Cookies or Desserts (for example a Gingerbread House)	Christine Alkins, Chloé Alkins, Gabrielle Alkins, Dale Alkins, Karena Ball, Krysten Ball, Amanda Beaudry, Eve Beaudry, Olivier Beaudry, Laurette Dégagné, Ray Dégagné, Megan Frédérick, Laure Larocque, Coralie Rochefort, Marielle Rochefort, Garrett Tran, Carmen Weiskopf, Lydia Weiskopf-Tran
Maple Syrup (Partie de sucre)	Rhéal Perron
Nova Scotia Cake	Lisa Loeffen, Magali Morin
Partridge (served with squash and rice)	France Carroll
Pizza	Rhéaume Rochefort
Pudding Chaumeur	Paul-Marie Girard
Poutine à framboise	Jessica Perron
Rice and Peas	Danny Harris
Spaghetti Sauce	Nathalie Boucher, Megan Frederick
Spätzle (Käse)	David Weiskopf
Tourtière	Carmen Weiskopf

3.1.2. Cultural Agents

Lisa Heldke argues in "Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice," that "once we recognize the importance of the relations between foodmaker and food, we are led to reconsider the importance of other kinds of relations as well – relations among foodmakers, and among foodmakers and eaters."[287] From the moment the decision is made to either perform or reject the task of making tradition food, individuals become cultural agents and actors with the ability to inspire or detract others. By understanding the degree of agency and also the ways in which these individuals negotiate ideas of good eating within themselves and with others in the immediate and larger community, we can gain a deeper sense of how cultural traditions impact individual and group definitions of what a French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian is today. By also understanding the extent to which a "tradition" is a "tradition" because it either represents an everyday food practice or because it is associated with a special occasion, we can also discern how likely certain traditions are to survive and how they will continue to be cultural references.

Sharing a traditional recipe is one way that individuals create coherence within a group. Like the buildings or street names described in Chapter 1, recipes are material objects that make the connection between individuals not only possible but also durable. This is because when a recipe is shared with someone else, both the idea of the food, represented in the physical description of it, and the food itself, through the practice of making it, ensure that the food stays in circulation. In the sharing and making of both the recipe and the food, individuals work together to produce cultural memory.[288] It is in the making of the food, rather than simply the reading of a recipe, that people learn about their culture. In *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition*, Kathy Neustadt explains that when

[287] Lisa Heldke, "Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice," *Cooking, eating, thinking: transformative philosophies of food*, Edited by Deane W. Curtin and Lisa M. Heldke (United States: Indiana University Press, 1992), 222.
[288] See Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*.

> a person has learned how to make a 'proper bake,' he has learned a lot more than how to pile rocks and wood. In the process of touching it, working with it, listening to and learning its stories, he experiences directly the aesthetics and value of his group. He has been tutored in silence… guided into skills without asking or being asked; allowed to maintain the standard of self-reliance. In the process the clambake becomes a kind of indigenous and organic education system, a process and method for communicating traditional knowledge.[289]

In this description of how individuals learn about tradition, we see that traditional foods serve a didactic function. While reading about a traditional food will create associations between an idealised concept of the past and food, as the example of blood sausage by Natalie and Aline demonstrate, there is an important distinction between cultural memory that is based in ideas and cultural memory that is based in practice. In the actual making of the food, we see that "memories are not simply stored images drawn out of the brain at appropriate intervals, but are very much formed as an interaction between the past and the present."[290] The next section will highlight the differences between family cookbooks and professional cookbooks to show how recipes and food transmit culture.

3.1.3 Family Recipes and Cookbooks

Through their study of recipes and cookbooks, scholars such as Anne Bower, Colleen Cotter, Marleen Epp, Andrea Eidinger, Diane Tye, Janet Theophano, and Carody Culver, to name but a very select few, have demonstrated that these material objects "tell stories – autobiographical in most cases, historical sometimes, and perhaps fictitious or idealized in other instances."[291] Barbara Kirshenblatt-

[289] Neustadt, *Clambake*, 166.
[290] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*, 9.
[291] Anne Bower, "Bound Together: Recipes, Lives, Stories, and Reading: Introduction," *Recipes for Reading Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (Massachusetts, University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 2; Colleen Cotter, "Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community," *Recipes for Reading*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (United States: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 51-71; Marlene Epp, "More than 'Just' Recipes: Mennonite Cookbooks in Mid-Twentieth-Century North America," *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, Marlene Epp (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), 173-188; Andrea Eidinger "Gefilte Fish and Roast Duck with

Gimblett explains that "food experiences organize and integrate a particularly complex set of sensory and social experiences in distinctive ways, but also they form edible chronotypes (sensory space-time convergences). The capacity of food to hold time, place, and memory is valued all the more in an era of hypermobility, when it can seem as if everything is available everywhere, all the time."[292] Recipes, in fact, are rarely ever original creations. They are revamped versions of past, always similar, recipes. Through their similarities and differences, their evolution can tell us a lot about the people making and eating the food. Through physical additions to a recipe, for example tips or notes or smudges, "[c]ookbook authors use memories, anecdotes and imagery to conjure scenes to which readers can aspire or relate, perhaps prompting responses similar to those experienced when reading fiction."[293] Memory is thus a critical element of making traditional foods as these recipes conjure stories of other times when the food was made or consumed. The smells, the sounds, the taste are all ways that food can bring the past to life.

In her study of *In Memory's Kitchen: A Legacy from the Women of Terzín*, Marie Drews shows just how political reading, remembering, and recreating recipes can be. The recipes collected from women while in the Terezín concentration camp are full of hope and the promise of agency as women were encouraged in the instructions to adjust the recipe to their own preferences. The suggestiveness of the instructions, Drews argues, is a contrast to the "inflammatory and dehumanizing commands of Nazi officials and the *Sonderkommando*" and the rich and fattening ingredients were a way to escape the

Orange Slices: *A Treasure for My Daughter* and the Creation of a Jewish Cultural Orthodoxy in Postwar Montreal," *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, Marlene Epp (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), 189-208; Tye, *Baking as Biography*; Theophano, *Eat My Words*; Carody Culver, "My Kitchen, Myself: Constructing the Feminine Identity in Contemporary Cookbooks," *M/C Journal* 16, no. 3 (Jun. 2013), accessed July 30, 2013, http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/641

[292] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Foreword," *Culinary Tourism*, Edited by Lucy M. Long (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 2010), xiii.

[293] Culver, "My Kitchen, Myself."

physical reality of starving in the camp.[294] Recipe collections such as this one fit into what "De Silva calls, 'an act of psychological resistance, forceful testimony to the power of food to sustain us, not just physically but spiritually' (1996b, xxvi)."[295] Indeed, "[w]e can better understand the escapist nature of these recipes when we realize just how impossible they were."[296] By actually making the recipes from this cookbook, we ensure that the women live on. In fact, by consuming these dishes, Drews argues, these women are preserved in our own memories.

In her study of Mennonite community cookbooks, Marlene Epp similarly shows how the cookbook "shaped both Mennonite self-understanding and generated external perceptions and knowledge about Mennonite ethno-religious identity… offer[ing] glimpses into a number of themes: the role of women in fundraising for Mennonite mission and service initiatives, the connections between foodways and ethno-religious identity, the evolution of identity in the midst of modernization and acculturation, and the possibility of food practices as political statement."[297] Diane Tye similarly studies her mother's recipe collection to better understand who her mother was and to also know what she and her community valued. Through their study of recipes that were actually used, both Epp and Tye show "what is commonly eaten within the households and collective gatherings of community and reflect food preferences, food aspirations, and what might be considered culinary trademarks of the group that compiles the cookbook."[298] For both these scholars, and many others, the study of recipe collections is important for understanding not only the people making the food today, but also for understanding those who came before them. Recipes of the past serve "as a place for readers to remember a way of life

[294] Marie I. Drews, "Cooking *In Memory's Kitchen*: Re-Presenting Recipes, Remembering the Holocaust," *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, Edited by Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato (Albany, SUNY, 2008), 65.
[295] Drews, "Cooking *In Memory's Kitchen*," 65.
[296] Drews, "Cooking *In Memory's Kitchen*," 68.
[297] Epp, "More than 'Just' Recipes," 174.
[298] Epp, "More than 'Just' Recipes," 176.

no longer in existence or to enter a nostalgic re-creation of a past culture that persists mostly in memory."[299]

Recipes and cookbooks are important ways to hold families together over space and time. Many of my participants use personal cookbooks to construct personal narratives that they share with others. Unlike printed cookbooks, personal ones evolve over time. They can take many forms: from handwritten notes in spiral bound notebooks, to a collection of scrap pieces of paper stuffed in a box or drawer, to scrapbooked collections embellished with stickers, to photo albums holding recipes instead of (or along with) pictures. Each one is unique. The recipes in these collections are influenced by the collector's contact with others as well as print and online publications. In *Eat My Words* and *Baking as Biography*, Janet Theophano and Diane Tye analyse homemade, hand-crafted, and personal cookbooks to demonstrate that these texts are the means through which we can understand individuals in a specific place at a specific time. Theophano, for example, analyses old cookbooks to understand the impact of social networking in identity making. By looking at the types of recipes and number of people who have written themselves into these women's books, she shows that cookbook creation has always been a social activity that reveals how people connect to the world around them and who they are connecting with. In a slightly different way, Tye uses recipes to recreate her deceased mother's life and thus connect with her on a nostalgic and emotional level.

A number of my participants showed me personal cookbooks. Leantha, for example, showed me the cookbook her grandmother made her when she married Jean-Pierre. Her grandmother described it as a compilation of "a whole bunch of things that she had made throughout her life." Her grandmother even included "some things from [her] other grand-mother or [her] aunt."[300] Leantha has since added

[299] Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 8.
[300] Leantha Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 12, 2016.

her own recipes and really values this book for the memories it brings back as well as for its utility. She uses it regularly to make meals and desserts for her family and also when baking with her daughters. Amanda also talked about a recipe book her mother had made for her. During the year before she left for university, she would ask her mother to add the foods she liked when they ate it. The book, "du début jusqu'à fin dans un sense c'est des repas, et de r'culons c'est des desserts." This is an activity Laurette seems to remember fondly. Amanda was happy to share that she is excited that her own daughter has also added recipes to the book and that it also includes recipes written by her grandmother making it a multigenerational document.[301]

I heard and saw many other similar stories over the course of my interviews. France had been given a box of recipe cards by her mother.[302] Aline and Jessica have made themselves cookbooks. Jessica's is a notebook with handwritten recipes while Aline's is a photo album filled with recipes that have either been given to her or that she has cut out from various places.[303] Cody, Lydia, and Brienne all talked about collections they had received as wedding presents and/or from family members.[304] In fact, the one Brienne referenced was the one I had made her and Jack which includes recipes from both sides of both their families. One of Lydia's collections was made by our sister, Natalie, when we were younger.[305] All three of us have a copy of the same book. It has been a very useful resource for making everyday family favourites, like Tea Biscuits, and traditional foods associated with special occasions, like Big Hearts.

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[301] Amanda Beaudry, Laurette Dégagné, and Eve Beaudry, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.
[302] France Carroll, Personal Interview, November 28, 2015.
[303] Jessica Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., December 6, 2016 and Aline Coote, Personal Interview, Corbeil, ON., November 30, 2015.
[304] Cody Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016, Lydia Weiskopf-Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016 and Brienne Kearns, Personal Interview, November 19, 2016.
[305] Emily Weiskopf-Ball, "Cooking Up Change: Family Cookbooks as Markers of Shifting Kitchen Politics" *CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Studies / Le journal des études sur l'alimentation au Canada 4.*2 (2013).

Though they all differed in size, form, and organisation, these collections shared one common goal: to share ideas of "good" food with the recipient. By including recipes for more everyday items, like coleslaw or chocolate cake, as well as recipes for special occasions, like cipaille and tourtière, these collections show us how the habitual and traditional work together to shape a family's foodways. First, their influences – sometimes in the form of actual handwritten recipes or copied-out instructions – bind individuals from many different generations. This connection to people was very important to my participants with personal cookbooks. The physical books and recipes are visual reminders of their living and/or deceased family members. Micheline, for example, was sure to include a photo of her grandparents on the cover of her cookbook. The cover page also includes the following saying: "When you're feeling down, just grab a recipe. Get together with your family and cook it!"[306] Amanda, Nathalie, France, and Micheline all talked with pride about their cookbooks that have their actual grandmother's, mother's, and/or children's writing.

Such connections may be idealised, but they are nevertheless important ways in which individuals position themselves within their family network. Indeed, it is important to note that not all of these women actually made food with their grandmothers. Micheline, for example, shares that as a child going to mémère Laferrière's for dinner, the kids were not involved in helping prepare dinner. France also did not bake or cook with her grandmothers. But some of recipes in their collections are very personally linked to their grandmothers. Furthermore, though some have their grandmothers' recipes, the absence of her physical presence in the book through the lack of handwritten recipes is mourned by some. Jessica explains that ""I always thought [it] would be cool... if I had one of my grandmother's recipe books with her writing in it. I would LOVE that… My dad always said you can tell a good recipe by how dirty, or you know what I mean, how stained the page was."[307] Jessica's cookbook includes a

[306] Micheline Dégagné.
[307] Jessica Perron.

number of her grandmother Groulx's recipes but these have been passed on to her from her father rather than directly from her grandmother. She shares that "I really feel like I missed out not having… that relationship [of actually making food with her]."[308] But she uses her grandmother's recipes to create a bond between her, her father, and her grandmother. For example, "I make my grandmother's chocolate cake on their birthdays and I think it's really special to my dad, right, cause that was his mom and that's her."[309] Making the cake connects her physically with her grandmother through her olfactory system: "it's funny cause the only smell I associate with her, you have to add the cocoa in boiling water and it melts. That smell for some reason reminds me of her and I don't know why. But there definitely is an association there."[310]

The repetition of foods from one home to the other works to delimit a community. Tourtière, for example, is still present in many homes even if no two people make it the same way. Some, like Leantha Perron, are introduced to the tradition when they marry into a French-Canadian family. Giving in-laws recipes is a way to teach the person about the family. As Theophano shows in her discussion of how recipes given to a bride by a male's primary, female caregiver, the newcomer expectation of the food that is to be made.[311] Furthermore, the recipes newcomers are given by family members tie them to these individuals so that recipes are forever associated with those specific people. Even as recipes are indicative of the past, they are an important way to shape the present and orientate the future. As recipes are passed from one person to another, they are subject to the whims and desires of their makers. Pat acknowledges, for example, that he foresees Stacy modifying their tourtière recipe in the future to add different spices. Doing so would alter his mother's recipe – which is already an amalgamation of the Cantin and Dégagné tourtières – to fit their immediate family's tastes. Leantha was

[308] Jessica Perron.
[309] Jessica Perron.
[310] Jessica Perron.
[311] Theophano, 108-112.

surprised to learn her sister-in-law's tourtière recipe came from Cooks.com rather than another family member but both she and Jean-Pierre like it. It doesn't matter how hard one tries, my grandfather had told me during his interview for my MA paper, no one will ever make food as well as your mother did.[312] Jean-Pierre Perron, on the other, sees the evolution and changes brought by the next generations as improvements on some of the recipes from his childhood. No matter what version a tourtière takes today, there is always an original tourtière in each person's mind; the first one they ever ate or the version of it they had in their childhood.[313] Importantly, those other recipes, the actual tourtières, and memories of both the people who made them and who were present when they were consumed blend together when people talk about and/or eat the food. Thus recipes not only bind individuals to each other but the repetition of specific foods within and between households also connects the household with the larger clan. These are "tried, tested, and true"[314] recipes from childhood that people want to make themselves when starting their own lives outside the home and/or that newcomers are recommended so the person can fit in.[315]

The evolution of French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture is present in family cookbooks where new recipes can signal not only changes in economic and social circumstances, where new voices point to growth, and where voices that disappear highlight losses or tensions. The repetition of foods between cookbooks builds community by creating, sustaining, and supporting ties among kin and neighbours. That the voices are compatible, that the recipes are similar, demonstrates the extent to which these cookbooks promote what Bower terms an *integration plot* whereby the compilers "achieving assimilation and status through their acceptance of the larger society's conventions and standards.[316] It

[312] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON. January 24, 2015.
[313] Jean-Pierre Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON. June 12, 2016.
[314] Natalie Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., Janurary 17, 2016.
[315] Emily Weiskopf-Ball, "Cooking Up Change: Family Cookbooks as Markers of Shifting Kitchen Politics" *CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Studies / Le journal des études sur l'alimentation au Canada 4.*2 (2013).
[316] Bower, "Bound Together: Recipes, Lives, Stories, and Reading: Introduction," 38.

is significant that while demonstrating integration, the cookbooks of my participants from mixed-ethnic homes also include what Bower terms a *differentiation plot* since they also represent the culturally diverse makeup of the group. Recipes such as chocoadehagelslag, piragatas, spätzle, or rice and peas, highlight the extent to which they see themselves as being different from others. Their fond memories of these foods they still make prove that they "give equal weight to their membership within a special 'different' subgroup and their assimilation into the wider society."[317]

3.1.4 Professional Cookbooks

Unlike personal cookbooks, professional cookbooks have been published by a publishing house. Using professional cookbooks to recreate the past is significant but it is also important to remember that just because a cookbook appears on someone's shelf or just because a certain food is trending at the time does not mean that individuals actually make the food in the book or subscribe to the ideas that are circulating. In her essay about Canada's early foodways, Nathalie Cooke distinguishes between "'descriptive practices'... what Canadians actually choose to prepare and eat in their own homes, as opposed to prescriptive practices, which is what they are instructed to choose and prepare in such 'prescriptive' texts as cookbooks or advertisements."[318] Recipe making involves a certain amount of agency. Recipes are

> open to subjective intervention and interpretation, putting the reader in contact with the writer, making personal connections with a cultural moment or a community, and allowing the reader to interpolate herself [or himself] into the text, making the narrative her [or his] own. Through this system of exchange the reader learns more about herself [or himself] and the world. Thus the recipe, besides being a narrative in itself, offers us the stories too: of family sagas and

[317] Bower, "Bound Together: Recipes, Lives, Stories, and Reading: Introduction," 40.
[318] Nathalie Cooke, "Introduction," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History*, Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 15.

community records, of historical and cultural moments or changes, and also personal histories and narratives of self.[319]

Chapter 5 will focus more specifically on who is making food in the home and discuss the ways in which the kitchen is a site of personal, familial, and cultural agency and negotiation. Here we are concerned with the foods that are culturally representative and the celebrations in which they figure prominently.

When I asked my participants which cookbooks they used regularly in their homes, I was surprised to find that two came up frequently in their answers: the *Joy of Cooking* and the *Five Roses: A Guide to Good Cooking*. In fact, Natalie shares that "j'ai remarqué en vieillissant, puis quand j'ai eu mon propre livre de *Five Rose Cookbook*, qui avait plusieurs recettes… qui avaient été transcrit du *Five Rose Cookbook* puis qui était dans la boite à Maman."[320] For Aline, *The Five Rose Cookbook*, "c'est une bible."[321] When she left home, Megan's mother made her a duo tang with her family's important recipes. Megan notes that these include recipes from the *Joy of Cooking*.[322] Testimonies such as these demonstrate that professional cookbooks can influence a family's foodways.

Both these works have a long history. The *Joy of Cooking* was first published in St. Louis in 1931. Written by German immigrant Irma Rombauer and illustrated by her daughter Marion Rombauer Becker, it continues to be popular today in large part because the simple and straightforward recipes were designed for middle class families.[323] The narrative style has also contributed to its appeal. The *Five Roses Cookbook*, first published in 1913 by the Lake of Woods Milling Company, includes the over 600 recipes that had been selected from contest entries.[324] The recipes in this book are said to be "practical [and]

[319] Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, "The Recipe in its Cultural Contexts," *The Recipe Reader*, Edited by Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 2.
[320] Natalie Weiskopf.
[321] Aline Coote.
[322] Megan Frédérick, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 16, 2016.
[323] Irma S. Rombauer, Marion Rombauer, and Ethan Becker, *Joy of Cooking*, 75th Edition (New York: Scribner, 2006).
[324] *Five Roses A Guide to Good Cooking* (North Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2003).

down to earth."[325] The nature and style of both these books certainly help contribute to their continued popularity.

3.2.1. Ties to Quebec

The study of the foodways of minority groups exists in various forms and explores the connection between food and various cultural groups. Memoirs and autobiographies such as Nina Mukerjee Furstenau's *Biting through the Skin: An Indian Kitchen in America's Heartland*, Vince Agro's *In Gracie's Kitchen: Memoires and Recipes from an Italian-Canadian Childhood*, Anya von Bremzen's *Mastering the Art of Soviet Cooking: A Memoir of Food and Longing*, and Janice Wong's *Chow From China to Canada: Memories of Food + Family*[326] are a few examples of texts that discuss the ways in which immigrants use familiar foods to create a sense of comfort in a new country. These memoires prove, on one hand, that culture is maintained through foodways. Furstenau, for example, demonstrates that though her family conformed in many ways to English Kansas, food was one way that the family never changed. It was thus through food, rather than public institutions such as the temple or language, that she maintained a link to her cultural roots. These memoires also show an evolution of foodways as society changes. In his work, for example, Vince Agro states that it was television that altered their Italian family's social habits. Though the food stayed the same and connected individuals, the nature of the gathering changed from being centered on food to being centred on popular culture with food being a by-product. Despite the many memoires about other cultural groups, the only one I have found that

[325] *Five Roses A Guide to Good Cooking*, 3.
[326] Nina Mukerjee Furstenau, *Biting through the Skin: An Indian Kitchen in America' Heartland* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2013); Vince Agro, *In Grace's Kitchen: Memoires and Recipes from an Italian-Canadian Childhood* (Hamilton: Poplar Press, 2014); Anya von Bremen, *Mastering the Art of Soviet Cooking: A Memoir of Food and Longing* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2013); Janice Wong, *Chow: from China to Canada: Memories of Food + Family* (North Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2005).

makes a link between the "French" food of Quebec and its evolution outside of the province is Kristen Merrill's research which studies emigrants from Quebec to New England.[327]

In Lorraine Boisvenue's *Le guide de la cuisine traditionnelle québecoise*, many of the foods my participants named are listed as traditional, Quebecois, fare: beignes, cipaille, concombres à la crème, cretons, fêves au lard, gigot, grand-pères, jambon, pâté au saumon, pouding chômeur, ragout, sucre à crème, tartes, tête fromagée, tire, tourtière, lots of soups, and lots of roasts.[328] It is thus clear that the French-Canadian foods of Astorville, like the French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians residents themselves, have ties to Quebec. Some of the more popular foods, like tourtière and cipaille, have even been the focus of academic work. Pierre Lemasson's *L'incroyable odyssée de la tourtière* is one example.[329] The tourtière described in his book, is a version of the ones found in well-known Canadian cookbooks such as *La cuisinière raisonnée* and *Le guide de la cuisine traditionnelle québécoise* as well as the one highlighted in Radio-Canada's feature "Tourtière, pâté à viande ou cipaille?"[330] As this last title suggests, there is some confusion about these three names. Indeed, the tourtière described in Lemasson's work does not at all resemble the tourtière eaten by the residents of East Ferris. Rather, it more closely resembles the cipaille eaten in this area. Tourtière is a meat pie. It has two layers of crust that sandwich the ground meat, onions, and spices found inside. It is what the Quebecois I have met call pâté à viande. Cipaille, on the other hand, is a layered pie that alternates between cubed meat (and sometimes also vegetables) and pie crust. It is what Quebecois call tourtière. As mentioned in the previous chapter, as French-

[327] Kristen Merrill, "*Tourtière* and *Cretons*: Celebratory French-Canadian Meat Dishes in Today's New England" *CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Studies / Le journal des études sur l'alimentation au Canada* 4, no. 2 (2013). Accessed March 3, 2014. http://www.erudit.org/revue/cuizine/2013/v4/n2/1019316ar.html
[328] Lorraine Boisvenue, *Le guide de la cuisine traditionnelle Québécoise* (Montreal: Stanké, 2009).
[329] Pierre Lemasson, *L'incroyable odyssée de la tourtière* (Outremont, Amérik Média, 2011). See also Pierre Lemasson "Lac-Saint-Jean 'Tourtière,'" *Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America*, accessed April 8, 2014. http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-90/Tourti%C3%A8re_du_Lac-Saint-Jean.html#.UzbSxrlOV9A and "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History*, Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 99-115.
[330] "Tourtière, pâté à la viande, ou cipaille?" *Archives de Radio-Canada*, June 23, 1977, Accessed August 16, 2017. http://archives.radio-canada.ca/art_de_vivre/cuisine/clips/8786

speaking Quebecois moved into Ontario, they settled into new places that were geographically isolated from each other. Just as their vernacular formed into a regional dialect, so too did their foods. Rhéal Perron shares that his family ate tourquière, which the *Base de données lexicographiques panfrancophones* lists as another name for tourtière or pâté à la viande. "Dans l'ancien temps," Rhéal Perron shares,

> y avait beaucoup d'viande sauvage. Souvent c'était du lièvre. Du chevreuil. L'orignal. Des perdrix. C'te viande là est pas nécessairement bon[ne]. Ça goute le bois là. Alors y prenait un chaudron puis y mettait ça avec des patates puis des oignons puis toute sorte de choses puis y faisaient cuire ça comme un cipaille dans l'fourneau. Puis on appelait ça une tourquière. Et puis vu que ça cuit pendant huit à dix heure, avec des oignions puis tout ça, ça enl'vait le gout amère dedans… C'est comme un cipaille mais t'appelait ça une tourquière. Puis c'est pas une tourtière. Mais le nom tourtière à Astorville puis pâté à viande avait été mélangé… à Verner c'est tourtière. Chez moi c'est tourtière. Mais à Astorville, dans l'ancien temps, c'était pâté à viande.[331]

If Lemasson's work calls cipaille tourtière, Boisvenue's recipe book contains recipes for both cipaille and tourtière and these are in fact the tourtière and cipaille of Astorville. In Astorville, as in other places, then there seems to be confusion with the terms in regards to these iconic French-Canadian foods that show how physical distance can alter one's reference.

Another point that is worth noting is that certain families in Astorville seem to have passed down some foods that other families in the village have not. Des glissants, for example, came up in a number of interviews as being an important, French-Canadian food though I had never heard of them and none of my Rochefort participants mentioned them as having been part of their childhoods either. Des

[331] Rhéal Perron, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., April 7, 2016.

glissants are essentially dumplings though rather than being large balls of dough, des grand-pères, des glissants are rolled out very thinly and boiled in chicken broth. Importantly, des glissants are also common in other French-speaking communities, like Pincourt, where, Michel Perron shares, "les gens s'déplacent, comme ils se déplacent ici pour le cipaille et les beans… Y viennent de mille et de mille… pour un souper comme ça."[332] Brienne also shares that while the French people she knows in Lafontaine "make glissants… they don't make cipaille."[333] Thus it seems that certain families brought their own, regional traditions with them to Astorville but that these traditions did not transfer to other families when they got here except maybe when members of two founding families married. It is also important that Astorville's picnic, an annual event organised to raise funds for the church, serves cipaille and beans, a dish the majority of my participants recognise and associate with, rather than des glissants which clearly does not have the same symbolic weight in Astorville as it does in other parts of the province.

3.2.2 Big Families, Soul Food, and Creating Communities

In Chapter 2, we saw just how large the founding families of Astorville were and how authority was likely established within the home. Many of my participants clearly consider being a member of a large family as a defining part of themselves. Sylvie Laperrière explains that because there were always 20 to 30 people at their events on both sides of the family, it was always just normal to see special occasions as a time to celebrate with a lot of people. Growing up, her cousins were her first, and best, friends.[334] "Y avait beaucoup d'occasions spéciales dans c'temps-là," Rhéal Perron shares of his childhood. "Chaque dimanche c'était une fête. Moi j'me rappelle que chez nous on avait quasiment tous les dimanches 20, 22, 25 personnes pour souper."[335] When people miss out on these event, they often feel a sense of loss. This is how Cody feels when he's had to miss his family's gatherings:

[332] Michel Perron, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., March 4, 2016.
[333] Brienne Kearns, Personal Interview, Tiny, ON., November 19, 2016.
[334] Sylvie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., September 21, 2016.
[335] Rhéal Perron.

> They're important to me. I look forward to them. I mean. For example… [t]his Christmas, Boxing Day, I wasn't able to go. I look forward to that. We used to have Christmas Eve together. New Year's Eve was just so much fun! The food was. Awesome right… a lot of things we didn't have all the time. You know those big hams with different sauces…, cabbage rolls… We look forward to that… Christmas was huge! I like Christmas because of that. I mean. Thanksgiving we used to get together a lot on my mom's side... Breakfasts were my dad's side.[336]

Long weekends, birthdays, Christmas, Easter, Lucie Laperrière echoes, are family time.[337]

While "large" is a relative term that differs from one person to the next, even today these larger family events require meals that can feed many people. As Lucie Laperrière shares, foods like cipaille and roasts, have long been good choices for feeding a large group of people because a couple of steaks just would not be enough.[338] Sylvie repeats this in her interview by explaining that they never had cipaille and beans just for a random supper. Rather, it was always when the whole family was together. This explains how bigger roasts, like ham and turkey, as well as some Italian meals, such as lasagna, are also considered traditional because they are big meals that feed a lot of people. Furthermore, André Laperrière, explains, some of these foods just don't taste the same when they are made in a smaller dish.[339] Part of the success of meals like cipaille depends on making a big pot of it where the many juices can simmer and stew over a long period of time. These simmering and roasting meats create the good, warm, and comforting smells many of my participants associate with holidays and family.

The food that is consumed at these fun family gatherings creates a positive association between the culture and the people who attend the events. When talking about des glissants, for example, Cody

[336] Cody Tran.
[337] Lucie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.
[338] Lucie Laperrière.
[339] André Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.

states that "[i]t was just this thick stew type and it had these dough pieces… But it smelled really good. It tastes good… That's the kind of things I remember. What I really enjoyed… We really looked forward to that cause it… was just different. We didn't have that [often] because it was enough work to get it going. Prepping it because we were such a big family. Rolling out the dough. It was a lot."[340] When thinking back on the food they ate at their regular, Sunday family dinners, Nathalie says that she can't remember what they actually ate from one week to the next but that the meals, collectively, were always an important part of the experience: "It's that feeling of being around grandma, being around mom. That comfort food 1-0-1. Goes back to that. Puis moi j'veux pouvoir donner ça à quelqu'un d'autre… I show love through my food. Puis j'pense que mémère Laferrière faisait ça."[341]

Micheline Dégagné shares that when mémère Laferrière passed away, she tried to recreate that love and that comfort by taking on the tradition of gifting foods at Christmas.

> Quand ma grand-mère est décédée puis j'ai eu tous ses livres c'tait un Noël pas mal difficile pour nous autres parc' que les grand parents allaient comme de une maison à l'autre puis y nous am'nait… comme d'la jam, du banana bread, tout ça. Des gros paniers de collations. Et puis quand… ma grand-mère est décédée on avait pu ça. Ça fait que la première année… on a fêté Noël chez nous. Toutes les ma tantes, les mon oncles, mes cousins. Puis toute c'te novembre là j'ai faite, comme, du banana bread, du corn relish, des pickled carrots, pickled beets, puis d'la jam. Puis dans un des livres j'avais trouvé un collant puis, le dernier collant qu'y a dit "Love mémère and pépère." So j'ai imprimé ça sur toute sorte de p'tits collants puis j'ai… mis sur les cadeaux. Puis là c'te soir… là j'ai faite v'nir tout l'monde une à fois puis y ont toutes pigés qu'est

[340] Cody Tran.
[341] Nathalie Boucher, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.

c'qui voulaient, du panier. Ça le monde y ont pleuré. Quand qu'y ont vu ça. C'était comme vraiment… spéciale.[342]

This feeling of food being good for the soul – as being nourishing for the spirit and of the collective well-being came up often during the interviews. In her article "Food for the Soul," cardiologist Cynthia Thaik argues that the best food of all consists of "gratitude, appreciation, and self-love and love of others, laughter, joy, [and] mindfulness."[343] The majority of the foods participants considered traditional were foods that they associated with happy times spent with family. In some families, like Laure's, it was customary to sit around the table for hours after they were done eating to talk and laugh together. For others, like Nathalie, France and Micheline, it was about being with cousins and spending time playing together. Participants did not necessarily talk about specific smells or even of being involved in preparing the food while they were young, but getting together for dinner was often the occasion that brought people together and what connected the people who came.

When traditional foods are seen positively, as the examples above demonstrate, then those foods become symbols of self-love and love of others. With time, as these examples demonstrate, they also come to represent the individuals responsible for making them and the places in which they were consumed. The next generation, in turn, wants to pass these positive emotions on to their own children. As adults, Nathalie, France, and Micheline, and many others as well, try to recreate the happiness they felt as children when they were part of these events. This is what Nathalie means when she says comfort 1-0-1. The foods they ate are synonymous with love, care, and inclusion and so individuals have actively sought to get recipes from parents and grandparents so that they could pass these feelings on to others.

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[342] Micheline Dégagné.

[343] Cynthia Thaik, "Foods for the Soul," *Psychology Today: Health, Help, Happiness + Find a Therapist.* April 1, 2013. *From the Heart*. Accessed June 18, 2017. Available www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-heart/201304/foods-the-soul%3Famp.

The stories and practices surrounding the making of these French-Canadian foods can be seen here to have their own narrative influence on the members of this community. Nathalie and Micheline's memories of mémère Laferrière are certainly examples of how food is used to connect individuals.

In studying the extent to which traditional foodways structure and determine this group's existence, it is clear from the list in Appendix G that it is not enough to simply tabulate how often certain dishes are made or survey participants to find out which foods are considered traditional as there is little consistency between members except for a few dishes. It seems that my participants identify these foods with the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture specifically because they were present at their French family's events. As Natasha explains, "I would like to say yes [about there being a link between these foods and French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture] but for no other reason… than they were things we would eat with mémère or, you know, we would have them specifically at Christmas. Like after Church we would go back to mémère's and have bouillon… I'm sure if she would have made hamburgers every year then hamburgers would be the food that we would eat."[344]

My participants did not always see anything necessarily culturally representative about the foods they were consuming, after all Lisa chuckles, "du ragout, c'est du ragout." "T'sais," she adds, "j'ai pensé au pain. J'ai pensé aux soupes. Ça m'a fait penser à des choses que j'avais genre oublié."[345] As the example of blood sausage earlier in the chapter demonstrated, some traditions have been relegated to the past. Others, exist in both the past and the present. Repeat exposure to these foods at Francophone, family events have, over time, created associations between the foods and the culture. "Quand j'pense aux fêtes," France Carroll shares, "j'pense à la nourriture puis… quand j'pense à la nourriture c'est des choses que j'crois moi aussi, c'est des mets traditionnels Franco or Canadien. Puis j'ai toujours mangé, en

[344] Natasha Krauss, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2016.
[345] Lisa Loeffen, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.

vieillissant, avec toute ma famille."[346] "Puis même quand tu vas, comme au piquenique, t'sais les mets qui font tu associes avec ça être francophone. Je sais pas pourquoi mais c'est juste la façon qu'on, durant notre enfance,… a mangé puis c'est ça t'es s'posé manger."[347]

Those worried about the future of French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians certainly have reason to be concerned. Not only is their danger of the language disappearing if people do not use it enough but the future of some of these foods is also in jeopardy. If people only consume them at someone else's house, if individuals never take on the task of making them themselves, then they may never make them at all. In this way, the traditional food needs to be an extension of everyday food choices and of one's food habits. If, for example, making food from scratch is not something one does regularly, then to do so may be an obstacle to making a traditional food. Ragout, homemade bread, and homemade soups are not foreign, yet the practice of making these is not mainstream either. If one has eliminated rich and sweet foods from one's diet, then the prospect of making tourtière or cipaille may be unappealing. Special occasions, like Christmas or the picnic, need to reflect the food eaten in the home, as France says, or they'll become, as Lisa shows, elements of our past we forget about unless we are reminded of them.

Though my participants remember their childhood family gatherings idyllically, it is important to recognise that these big families and many social events are not appreciated equally by everyone. Sylvie, for example, shares that while they were normal for her, it was an adjustment for her husband. Indeed, my own husband and I frequently negotiate how to spend holidays as my French-Canadian side tends to plan numerous family events leaving little time or room to get together with the other side of the family and/or non-family members. For him, long weekends and holidays are for friends, not family and so I am

[346] France Carroll.
[347] Sylvie Laperrière.

sometimes left being pulled in two directions: in one direction there is my maternal family that I love but, in the other, there is also my paternal family, the family that I married into, the family I have created with my husband, and the friends I consider family. Juggling my interest and desire to be an active member in each of these groups is difficult.

For non-French-Canadians, meeting the demands and pressures of a large family can potentially cause conflict. Having felt excluded due to the language barrier, some of my participants shared that they have stopped attending larger family events altogether. Others have also shared that they needed to set boundaries during holidays so that the interests of both parties and/or both sides of the family are met. While few expressed these struggles on the record, these concerns and frustrations did come up once the camera was turned off. These discussions suggest that while big families can be very good and positive spaces, they can also be problematic. If there is too much pressure, if there is an overt reluctance to include newcomers, or if the experience is unpleasant, families can, and sometimes do, turn members away. Moreover, in our fast-paced world where children are involved in numerous activities, weekends no longer allow the time to relax and get together they once did. This means that families must also pick between a child's hockey game, for example, or a family gathering. If individuals stop attending and/or hosting these large family events, they will no longer be the norm French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian children grow up knowing and so this sense of family as a defining feature of the cultural group may deteriorate.

When the founding families arrived, they were small enough to gather in people's homes. As individual families within the clan became so big they could no longer all get together in one place however, these founding families eventually severed off into smaller groups. This is what happened to the Rochefort clan. Whereas Yvonne Patterson Rochefort can remember large parties with dances in the living room, by the time my mother and her four siblings were growing up, my great-grandmother only

hosted one or two families at a time for Sunday dinner. Jean-Pierre Perron shares a similar story about large family corn roasts during la messe au lac. As the members of his generation grew up, it became difficult to keep this tradition alive and so it stopped happening. This process is just the natural evolution of families. "Comme toi," my uncle André points out, "quand t'étais jeune c'était aller chez grand-papa, grand-maman. Ça c'était la famille. Mais dans quelques années de maint'nant, s'rassembler en famille ça va être chez ta mère ou ton père. Puis c'est de ça que les enfants vont plus s'en rapp'ler."[348] "I think that I will. I think that I will do it," Brienne answers when I ask her if these cultural foods will survive. "Cause you know eventually you stop going to your parents' for Christmas or they come here… [E]very evolution of every family stops going home and… at that point I totally see myself making them. Yeah cause I want it to continue. I want [it] to be part of Margot's culinary Christmas experience or everyday kind of experience. But the cipaille I've made a couple of times. And it was good. I have tante Lucie's recipe."[349]

In a smaller, more intimate setting, it seems that there is a greater tendency to make unique or modern meals. Lucie tells me that "[q]uand qu'on est pas la grande, grande famille, y en a pas de ces traditions-là. T'sais. Quand c'est juste nous quatre là... on va avoir des fondus puis on va avoir des soupers japonais. Puis on va avoir des soupers mexicains plus… mais quand que c'est la grande famille… ça f'rait pas d'sens… [d]e pas avoir les choses plus traditionnelles."[350] Her son, Pascal, echoes this: "du cipaille en grande famille… Souvent quand qu'on se rencontre en grande famille quelqu'un… va faire une tourtière... Mais pas vraiment chez nous toute seul."[351] In Brienne's and Lucie's interviews we see the everyday and the special occasion merge in definitions of traditional foods. Brienne believes she will continue making these traditional foods because they are synonymous with her everyday food choices whereas Lucie shows that, when by themselves, her family sees "tradition" as chance to try foods from

[348] André Laperrière.
[349] Brienne Kearns.
[350] Lucie Laperrière.
[351] Pascal Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., July 11, 2016.

other cultures, to break away from the past. Though it is clear that both families are very proud of their French heritage, the difference in the way they talk about their food choices for special occasions suggests that this cultural reference point is not static and that it is very personal. If individuals do not continue making traditional foods then they risk becoming elements of the past.

As families get smaller and smaller with each passing generation, the need for these big meals may also disappear. People may experiment more and more with new foods and stop making these French-Canadian foods altogether. If there is a danger of being assimilated linguistically, there is certainly also a danger of being assimilated culturally. In order to maintain these traditions, some of my participants have made conscious efforts to learn how to make food. Sylvie, for example, explains that her family has made a point of having family cooking lessons with her grandmother. Others, like Nathalie, Natasha, Lisa, and Hailly describe their "cooking education" as having been transferred through osmosis when they would/do go spend time with their grandmothers or, for Jessica Perron, her father. No matter the way that individuals learn to make these foods, the goal in doing so seems to be as much about recreating the happy feeling of those moments as it is about learning the tricks of the recipes. When they make these foods today, like when Micheline makes her relishes or banana bread, individuals consciously associate the food with the person who made it before them. Micheline, for example, will toast her grandmother when she cooks or bakes. Thus, making these foods can be seen as a purposeful way to keep those who are not physically there, alive and present and to make sure the next generation knows about these people and these past events.

In Astorville, the presence of elderly family members dictates, to a certain extent, what is eaten. Despite there being other options, some of these foods persist largely because of the presence of certain family members. In Yvonne Buckner's family, for example, her daughter Laurette ensures that cipaille and beans are on the menu when her mother is present for Christmas dinner. "Quand qu'on fait notre

souper de Noël pour Maman c'est du cipaille. Faut qu'ça soit du cipaille puis des beans. Qu'y ai rien d'autre choses y faut qu'y ai du cipaille puis des beans," she shares.[352]

The pressure to make certain foods may disappear when those older members pass away and the family gatherings are redefined. Aline explains, "quand ma mère vivait, à faisait toujours des cipailles puis des beans puis d'la salade aux choux… Maint'nant. On s'rencontre à chacune des maison… et puis, comme ma sœur à va faire une tourtière et puis on essaye… C'est pas qu'e'qu'chose qui va être abandonnée. Mais… c'est différent... quand qu'la famille à vieillit là... la dynamique change beaucoup… Ça vient à notre responsabilité de suivre ça. Puis d'prendre le temps de le montrer à nos enfants."[353] France explains that when her grandparents passed away, family gatherings stopped for a few years and then she and her sisters got it going again because they felt it was important. Unless others pick up the reins and learn to make the food, those traditions may be lost. Indeed, some of my participants, like myself, have never made a cipaille because an older relative has always been in charge of making it. Traditional foods are traditional because "c'est juste ça qu'tu connais puis c'est juste ça qu'tu fais. Puis ça s'passe de génération à génération. Ici, oui y a certaines choses de mémère [Buckner], que mom a peut-être faite que pour moi c'est encore important et que ça va probablement continuer à travers de Magali. Donc j'pense qu'y a un lien mais j'pense que ça s'présente de façon différente d'une famille à un autre."[354] For the older generations, like "mémère Buckner, j'dirais qu'est c'est même une culture, t'sais. Eux autre dans c'temps, elle le faisait parc' qu'elle le faisait... À savait pas pourquoi à l'faisait. Puis elle le passait à ses enfants parc' que c'était juste ça qu'à connaissait. C'est plutôt notre génération qui connait autre chose et choisi… Mais toi," Amanda says to her mother, "tu nous as montré ces choses-là sachant qu'y avait d'autres options."[355]

[352] Laurette Dégagné.
[353] Aline Coote.
[354] Lisa Loeffen.
[355] Amanda Beaudry.

3.2.3. Recognising Ourselves and Being Recognised by Others

I admit that I had hoped to find that traditional foods are important at family gatherings and I had also hoped to determine a more or less definitive list of foods that my participants acknowledged as being French-Canadian. I do believe that when certain food disappear we lose a part of our connection to those who came before us. Some of my participants did also feel this way expressing that

> faut prendre le temps de mettre une journée ou faire une fête spéciale pour pouvoir ressortir ces mets-là. Parc' que autrement y vont t'être oubliés. C'est comme la musique, c'est comme le théâtre, c'est comme d'autre choses. Y faut que tu prennes le temps d'introduire à tes enfants ces choses-là puis faire une belle activité. Une activité d'famille. Une activité de joie pour que eux autre aime l'expérience. Pour qui veulent pouvoir.[356]

Since the participants in my study do still consistently recognise certain foods as being "French-Canadian," I feel confident in saying that, at this point in time, there is such a thing as a French-Canadian foodway. However, it is clear that these habits do not remain static. In other words, the food choices may be dictated, to a certain extent by habit and the preferences of the people coming to the meal, but ultimately, it is the act of getting together, "l'idée d'avoir la famille autour de toi,"[357] that keeps the tradition alive. "Donc que ça soit les traditions ou les repas traditionnels ou des nouvelles qui se créent ou des nouvelles routines ou traditions qui se créent, veux veux pas oui ça rassemble les gens, les familles et ça crée si pas des traditions qui se continuent, ça crée des nouvelles traditions."[358] "Y a une importance mis sur la nourriture," Natalie shares, "mais je ne trouve pas [c'est] ce qui est important. À

[356] Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., April 28, 2016.
[357] Nathalie Boucher.
[358] Lisa Loeffen.

part des biscuits. C'est très important. Mais à part ça, qu'est c'qu'on mange pour Noël, si on a des hot crossed buns ou non. Whatever. It doesn't really bother me. I'm just there. I get to hang out."[359]

For me, the connection between the food and the human origin of that food is significant. The stories they tell about the past, about how life used to be, is vital to maintaining ties to our roots and our heritage. I confess therefore that I am a little disappointed that the lists were not more consistent. I initially saw this random list as evidence that French-Canadian is in fact being assimilated. I don't want to eat blood sausage, but I would hate to lose tourtière. I know that culture is not static, that foodways evolve, but at what point should we worry about food the way we worry about language? Is it only when a culture is threatened that people care?

Speaking of the revival of Creole culture in St. Lucia, my brother-in-law Danny Harris says that "[t]he most important thing is like stuff that has been carried down from generation to generation they're sort of looked at as being sacred. And for you to sort of identify with a particular culture you sort of have to have some of those traditions, eat some of those foods, um, have some of the traditional dresses. Do some of the things that they did. Way back when. To sort of identify with that particular culture."[360] The same principle applies to French-Canadians and Franco-Ontarians "[b]ecause if you say you're French-Canadian then someone asks you what is a cipaille or what is tourtière and you can't answer then they'll probably say, 'Well, you're probably not real French-Canadian,' right?" "Or you're not MY French-Canadian," I interject. "Precisely."[361]

In his interview, Pat Dégagné marveled at a how people can cook the same because of how they were brought up. "But this little guy comes to the camp and his mom cooks the same way. Cause her

[359] Natalie Weiskopf.
[360] Danny Harris, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 17, 2016.
[361] Danny Harris.

mom and her husband, which her dad is my mom's brother, they're all brought up the same way. She comes from a Guillemette side of Astorville. Another big family in Astorville. All of the same customs. And we go to their place and it's all the same kind of things. Like if you're looking at foodwise. It's totally the same. It's almost a copy. But it's a hand-me down."[362] Stacy added to this during our discussion when she shared a story about a restaurant in Deep River whose owner "makes bread pudding and it's the only other one I've had that's comparable to my grandmothers'."[363] My interview with Pat and Stacy made me realise that though some foods may eventually fall out of practice, they do not disappear completely. Stacy's story of bread pudding made me think of our food like those long-lost relatives we bump into every once in a while, who reaffirm that we are connected to others beyond our immediate circle. Finding familiar foods creates a feeling like the one some of us get when we find someone else who speaks "our" French. Our foods permeate without us realising they exist beyond us. Perhaps it is not until we risk losing recipes, like some risk losing the language, that the importance of certain foods will be made evident. It might be that, faced with this loss, those of my generation and the following generations will come to realise that they are worth learning and practicing. Overall, however, it is clear that the act of sharing food, food that the people gathered consider good, is what is crucial. Some, like Rhéaume Rochefort, agree that "c'est définitivement une façon qu'on s'identifie puis qu'on peut transmettre, on peut donner à nos enfants ou la prochaine génération," but imagines that "un jour y vont peut-être plus savoir c'est quoi du cipaille… Ça va être d'autres choses."[364] Others, like Natasha believe that "absolutely. Yeah. Somewhere. Someone will keep it going. I will… And I know my kids are gonna eat it. My husband loves it... in our family anyway it will keep going."[365] "You see people from overseas come over here and they're not just eating what we eat. They bring their tradition with them

[362] Pat Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[363] Stacy Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[364] Rhéaume Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 27, 2016.
[365] Natasha Krauss.

and their food and carry it on," Eric Roy explains practically. "I think that's how it is with us. Foods that I told you I think they're important. To me. I try to bring them through."[366]

It is also clear from my interviews that the foods my participants identified as being French-Canadian are culturally representative because they also contrasted with the foodways of the other half of their mixed families or because they have had to explain these foods to non-French-Canadians. "Oh yeah… I remember being in elementary school and… talking about the German culture and making pretzels and bringing it for my class... For sure," Lydia Weiskopf-Tran declares.[367] Everyone remembers those days at school when you brought in or talked about food from different cultures, Jessica Perron reminisces. "When we travel, we often want to taste authentic, regional cuisine," Laure Larocque explains. "Everyone has their own kind of traditional thing. Like in Germany you have like pretzels and… schnitzel."[368] "[I]f you think about it, you like consider pizza and pasta to be Italian food. The same as if you're gonna have tacos and fajitas you think of Mexico. You know you think of um Shepherd's Pie, traditional Shepherd's Pie is made with ground lamb, that's very New Zealand, Australia. Like that sort of thing so. You always think of a certain country when you're thinking of specific foods."[369] It's only natural then that

> when it comes to Canada… you get asked that same question and it's like, Well.... You know we have maple syrup. And may put that on some pancakes and crêpes you know. I don't think we have a defined answer [of] what Canadian is. Because for so many of us it's like, multicultured and like you know, all our backgrounds are combined into one. And so we try to… relive those backgrounds by like preparing little meals or trying to continue on that tradition but it's not

[366] Eric Roy, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., October 23, 2016.
[367] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.
[368] Laure Larocque, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.
[369] Natasha Krauss.

> overconsuming where it's like, you know, that's a German family. That's an English family. So it's a lot of little mix and matches with everyone.[370]

But, "when you're talking about like cipaille and meat pie, stuff like that…, you could be like maybe France but traditionally,… for me anyways, my brain would be, 'Oh! It's a French Canadian meal.'"[371] Eating traditional foods, "c'est une façon d'expériencer une culture… you get to learn about it. Le monde quand qu'y mangent cipaille, tourtière c'est comme 'Oh. C'est ce que ce monde ici aime manger.' Pas tout l'temps, obviously. But."[372]

For a minority culture, acculturation of foodways can have devastating consequences on cultural identity. If a group begins to see its foodways not just as different, to use Bower's concept of the differentiation plot, but also goes from being proud of that difference to being embarrassed or unhappy with it, then the members of the group will change their eating habits in order to conform to societal pressure. The plot of family cookbooks will consequently change from one of differentiation to one of assimilation. Seen in this light, adopting trends and changing foodways to be more in line with the majority is to allow one's self to be culturally assimilated. Here then lies the danger of abandoning foods and food habits.

Indeed, not everyone appreciates these traditional foods. André Laperrière, for example, would not be sad to never see another tourtière. Few of my participants cared that they had never eaten head cheese or blood sausage. Rhéal Perron spoke at length about tarte à farlouche and Paul Girard made me a pudding chômeur. I had never heard of either of these desserts before their interviews. Both are inexpensive and relatively easy to make but very sweet and rich. Indeed, while some considered such

[370] Laure Larocque.
[371] Natasha Krauss.
[372] Marielle Rochefort, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 16, 2016.

sweet treats and heavier meals like cipaille and tourtière to be soul food, others described them as being too rich and unhealthy even for special occasions. This contrasting discourse about the same food items shows that some of my participants have internalised messages of self-doubt and judgement. In this way, traditional foods can thus also be considered negative foodstuffs which causes feelings of "self-doubt, judgement, fear, anticipation, anger, [and] hatred."[373]

Thus a bigger issue for the continuity of certain traditional foods, which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 4, is the psychological association made toward them. Head cheese, which is made by boiling a pig's head, is one example and blood sausage, which is made with blood, is another. The mere name of both of these foods turns people off of them and, since they require a certain skill and special ingredients, few go out of their way to make them. Other foods, like cipaille, are deemed unhealthy because they are rich and heavy and some, like my grandfather, have stopped making them altogether. While some still see these specific foods as treats they anticipate, negative food associations like these mean that certain foods are being rejected by French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians. Over time, they may be eliminated altogether from family celebrations and replaced with options that are more socially accepted.

It is no accident that French-Canadians have been derogatorily referred to as frogs, Pepsis, and pea-soupers; foods that had been associated with French-Canadians. Lily Cho provides a similar reading of minority culture through food in *Eating Chinese: Culture on the Menu in Small Town Canada*. Through her study of menus in prairie, small town Chinese restaurants, Cho shows that the menu presents "conceptual categories where the historical is produced by a set of specific narratives."[374] It is through the repeated interaction between West and East or Subject and Other, on the menus of these Chinese

[373] Thaik, "Foods for the Soul."
[374] Lily Cho, *Eating Chinese: Culture on the Menu in Small Town Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 9.

restaurants that hierarchies became entrenched in this society. Like a kitchen, where people meet to talk and exchange ideas and stories, the restaurant was a site where communities were formed. In these small-town restaurants, the relationship between patron and server, familiar and exotic has repeated to form a sense of self and culture that has been maintained from one generation to the next.

While racial slurs once separated Francophone and Anglophone, today they no longer have any kind of impact. "C'est correcte," Rhéal Perron says of evolving food habits, "seulement que ça donne pas une identité francophone. Qu'on s'faisait appelé un mangeur de soupe au pois aujourd'hui ça dérangerait pas b'en b'en. Y en a b'en qui mange la soupe aux pois. Probablement qu'on s'est fait appeler un pea soup à l'âge de 15, 20 ans j'aurais été insulté. B'en aujourd'hui. So what?"[375] In fact, some even joke about how the stereotypes are true. "Y avait une fille, une de mes bonnes amies à Toronto," Sylvie laughs, "à disait, 'You're so stereotypical!' à cause j'mangeais d'la poutine puis j'avais un Pepsi… tu trouvais jamais du Coke chez nous. C'était toujours du Pepsi… Comme du Coke, you just don't do it… [Y] disent toujours… des francophones boient du Pepsi au lieu du Coke. Je sais pas où ça vient mais c'est vrai."[376]

"[C]'que ça fait, pas juste que ça raffermis les gens qui connaissent ça mais ça emmène d'autre gens à s'brancher à la langue et les coutumes. Ou quelqu'un qui m'dit, 'J'me souviens ma grand-mère en faisait.' Donc moi j'pense que c'est quand même un point d'encrage comme un beacon quasiment pour dire 'On s'ralie à ça. La nourriture.' On étiquette la langue à travers la nourriture," Michel Perron explains. He shares a story of having performed at a Christmas party. After the tale,

> deux ou trois anglophones… sont v'nus m'parler de tourtières. "Oh yes! French. Tourtière… Ça fait longtemps j'ai pas entendu parler d'tourtière. Ma grand-mère est décédée 20 ans passés.

[375] Rhéal Perron.
[376] Sylvie Laperrière.

> Elle faisait des tourtières." Donc tu vois, sans qu'ça soit une coutume ou une pratique... les gens font un lien à ça. Même si on est pas catégorisé francophone… même les anglophones s'associent à certains traits, des particularités d'la nourriture franco-ontarienne. C'était très évident que c'était des bons souvenirs pour lui. Donc on amène, on fait des transferts avec la nourriture qu'on a mangé lors de ces rassemblements-là qui vient combler un p'tit [peu] l'idée d'la rencontre et des retrouvailles puis toutes ces affaires là… J'certain que si… chaque fois qu't'allais à un funérailles t'avais une sandwich au œufs… B'en y aurait une association négative à ça. Tu vois. Alors j'vois la corrélation. J'pas certain si c'est parc' que la nourriture est extraordinaire ou si c'est parc' que ça amène des, des bons sentiments de chaleur humaine si tu veux.[377]

Some of these foods may not be considered culturally representative by my French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian participants because other cultural groups make them as well. When you talk about ham or meat pie, Micheline explains, you never hear "'Ah j'ai jamais gouté ça avant!'"[378] Yet, as the section on ties to Quebec above demonstrates, there are certain foods that are considered different from one French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian group to the other and there are foods, like pettes de soeurs and cipaille, that individuals outside the group do not know about. Jack confirms this in his interview when he says

> I knew what tourtière was before and I think I thought of it as a French, like not just French Canadian but French dish and also I grew up with Shepherd's Pie and it's kind of similar. But then when you guys pulled out a cipaille for the first time I was like, "What is this craziness!"... But it's SO good and it's the only place I can get it and I think that's why I connect it so much to that. I've

[377] Michel Perron.
[378] Micheline Dégagné.

never heard of it anywhere else. You can go to a store and get a tourtière but a cipaille you can't.[379]

Nevertheless, it is true that the French-Canadian foods listed by my participants are not culturally "different" in the sense that they will make an impression at a dinner party and they are not the trending at the time this paper was written. These foods aren't like Mexican or Indian dishes which have exotic spices or require special presentations. It is precisely because of this commonality, this lack of specialness that some of my participants felt that there would not be any real cultural consequence if the foods ceased to exist.

3.3.1 Religion in Astorville

The Catholic Church has long been a key element in French-Canadian communities. "Si tu r'gardes… la francophonie en Ontario. Si t'ar'gardes les p'tits villages francophones, et Astorville est un exemple, c'est rattachée à une église et c'est rattachée à une église catholique. Timmins, Moonbeam, Corbeil, Bonfield... Qu'est-c'qui a au centre? Y a une église. C'est quoi l'église? C'est une église catholique… Beaucoup d'la francophonie est basée autour de ça. C'est comme ça qu'ça colonisé ici au Canada."[380] As in other parts of the province, this important social institution has had a major, historical impact on the French-Canadian residents of Astorville.

As we saw in Chapter 2, the church was an important place for socialisation in the past and it continues to be so today. Going to church has always been about the company, the community, and the tradition of family both in the building and, as we saw in Chapter 2, after church. In Astorville, families still have their own spots within the building: the Groulxs at the front left of the alter, the Perrons, Guillemettes, and Cantins in the middle, and the Rocheforts in the back right. There is no reason for this

[379] Jack Ecker, Personal Interview, Tiny, ON., November 19, 2016.
[380] Lisa Loeffen.

other than tradition but it is a habit that has been programmed within me and others. When I walk into church, I instinctively go to where I know my family will be. I always find my grandfather and his brother in that section and any other family members who may be there that day. Sitting in that section is so encoded in me that it's really odd to sit anywhere else in the building. Though people do not linger the half hour after church they used to,[381] and they do not go as often as they used to either, these positive memories of family are important associations between my participants and Église St. Thomas d'Aquin.

The instinct to sit in a specific spot, like the instinct to speak French to certain people and English to others, is like the instinct to make certain foods at certain times and/or for certain people. These are all forms of "traditions" that are unquestioned, habits. These are examples of what Bourdieu referred to as *habitus* "the internalized social and cultural influences that shape people's everyday behaviour."[382] Sitting, speaking, and baking are all conscious acts – I am purposely walking to a certain area of the church like I know I'm talking French and like I know what I will make for an event – but they are also based in reflex rather than extensive thought. I don't enter the church wondering where I will sit. I don't stop and think about what language I will speak when I start talking to someone. Depending on the event, there is often little thought put into the choice of what we will eat. Our traditions are our way of showing others what matters to us. Though I don't often stop to think about it, I realise that I go sit with my family because I want them to see that I am there with them. That we are a unit. My physical presence is also my way of telling the rest of the community that I am with this group of people. Making traditional food is inherently a similar balance between conscious and unconscious thought. When I make a traditional food, I am telling others that I like the food, that I think it's good, that it represents me.

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[381] André Laperrière.

[382] Quoted in Brenda L. Beagan, Gwen E. Chapman, Josée Johnston, Deborah McPhail, Elaine M. Power, and Helen Vallianatos, *Acquired Tastes: Why Families Eat What They Do* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015), 11.

Traditional foods are traditional partly because they are also associated with habits that have come to be recognised as "traditional." As France Carroll tells me, "aller à la messe on voyait toute la famille… après on allait toujours visiter mes grand parents. Ça c'était comme une tradition."[383] Indeed, this habit of meeting up after church for a brunch was discussed by a number of my participants. It made me wonder if brunching could be considered a French-Canadian tradition. When I asked them, my participants were surprised by the question and said they had never considered brunch to be a French-Canadian custom. However, it is clear from their answers that these after-church meals have been significant throughout Astorville's history. These are, again, fun times when people get together to relax, talk, and share. A time when they can unwind after a busy week and the formal hour of mass. The food that is served, usually a combination of either bacon, fried baloney, eggs, sausage, or pancakes, are sweeter and fattier than an ordinary breakfast. These indulgences do not happen every weekend, but they happen often enough over the course of a year that they represent those exceptions to the norm and make them special events. Here then the food is seen positively rather than negatively and the treat is made acceptable by the event itself.

There has very clearly been a drop in attendance at church. When my grandfather was a child, "mes parents étaient beaucoup religieux… Beaucoup, beaucoup… Disait l'Chaplet en famille toutes les soirs. Puis… on allait à messe toutes les dimanches."[384] In the earlier days of settlement, there is no doubt that the church had tremendous power and authority. Participants in the *Astorville Celebrates* project remember having to learn their catechism by heart and being reprimanded if they did not know it, they remember spending what seemed like hours on their knees after supper reciting the rosary, and they remember going to mass each and every Sunday. Though no one talked to me about personal abuse suffered in the church or at the hands of the clergy, the dwindling attendance, especially for those born

[383] France Carroll.
[384] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.

after the 1960s, seems largely due to the Church's lack of flexibility and its hypocrisy on key issues such as gender roles, tolerance of others, and the lack of reconciliation of wrongdoings in other places. These factors have turned many of my participants away from the idea of the Church. Yet, importantly, my participants hold certain common Christian values dear including respect, friendship, and charity. All three of these values came up again and again. I've included the following quotations to provide a sense of my participants' voices. Listening back on the interviews, I am impressed by how similar they are – how the same vocabulary comes through from one person and generation to the next.

"[J]e crois que oui, y a des valeurs puis c'est important d'enseigner des valeurs tel que le respect, l'amitié… Y a un cycle à la vie et toute est rattachée et y faut apprécier qu'y fait soleil dans le ciel aujourd'hui. On l'apprécie parc' que c'est la beauté d'la nature. Donc c'est vraiment des valeurs de la fondement de base pour moi qui est beaucoup plus important que de dire que j'va à messe toutes les dimanches."[385]

"C't'important qu'on s'aime les uns les autres qu'on s'respect. T'sais, on a été élevé… avoir la charité, d'aider les autres… le bon Dieu y est là pour nous aider… Nous montre la lumière… C'est pas autant toutes les règlements de… l'église nécessairement là… C'est les valeurs… on vit Dieu pas seulement… dans les quatre murs de l'église mais aussi dans ta communauté… dans des moments où c'que t'es… toute seule puis t'as l'temps de réfléchir puis t'es dans la nature... Dieu est partout… dans le soleil, dans le vent, dans les oiseaux, dans toute ça."[386]

"On avait pas besoin d'être dans un église pour célébrer… C'est pas que'qu'chose que j'ai besoin. Mais je crois en ces valeurs de bases. Le respect. You want to do onto others… Puis moi j'me dis, quand

[385] Lisa Loeffen.
[386] Lucie Laperrière.

j'regarde dehors, c'oiseau là a une connexion. Ou le chevreuil qu'on a tué a une raison qu'y est là... Everything's kind of cycled into each other."[387]

"If you treat people the way you want to be treated and respect each other and love each other and spend time with your kids and you teach your kids what you were taught and learn stuff together along the way, then you've done everything that needs to be done as far as I'm concerned. I don't need somebody telling me about…"[388]

"[I]t's so that people just live their lives in a way that was sort of expected by God in terms of doing the right things and sort of making sure that they are always giv[ing] thanks. Just, just living a good life. So to speak. As opposed to going out in the church."[389]

"[S]e protéger les uns les autres. Faire aux autre ce qu'on veut qui nous fasse. T'sais. Prendre soins de son prochain. Des affaires comme ça. Donner de soi-même aux autres."[390]

Not everyone was comfortable speaking about their religious beliefs and, given the personal nature of this section of questions, I was not comfortable asking everyone I interviewed either. Religion is not the focus of this paper but given that it is part of the fabric of community, and that it was one of most influential forces in the community's founding years, I feel it is important to show that there are certain fundamental values that my participants share and seek to pass on to their children. Though these morals are important to teach, unlike the French-language which seems to see a revitalisation when babies are born, there does not seem to be a return to the Church when individuals from these later generations have children. This shift does not necessarily appear to have anything to do with mixed marriages though mixed marriages, I will show later in this chapter, do contribute to a change in

[387] Nathalie Boucher.
[388] Pat Dégagné.
[389] Danny Harris.
[390] Natalie Weiskopf.

behaviour. The families I interviewed whose children attend a French-Catholic school report that their children come home singing and talking about God, Jesus, and Mary, which does provide opportunities for discussion, but it has not translated into actually going to church on a regular basis.

There is also no doubt that as a French-language institution, the French-Catholic Church has, historically, shaped the way my participants identify themselves. Because of our heritage, there is certainly a correlation between language and religion. "Un bon canayen," Michel Perron told me, "c'était un gars qui va à messe puis qui parle en français. Puis qu'y fait pas d'tort aux autres alors j'dirais qu'oui... puis juste pas parc' que y sont rattaché au nombrils là mais c'est juste parc'que un allait avec l'autre pour toujours. Nos descendents. Notre descendence. Alors c'est plutôt par association que d'autres choses."[391] Of course mass was held in Latin until the end of the 1960s but after that the church remained a pillar for the French in the community "[e]n gardant la masse francophone ensemble. Comme quand j'étais jeune y avait pas d'messe anglaise à Astorville. Y avait une messe française seulement... y avait quelques familles anglaises… mais ça gardait les francophones quand même ensemble. Y s'connaissaient tous puis… ça gardait une société… C'tait pas des paroissiens mais c'était vraiment presqu'une société autour de l'Église."[392] You want to call yourself bilingual, Rhéaume Rochefort laughed as he made his pizza, when you can't even follow mass in English, when you can't say the Notre Père in English, you know you're French.[393] "I don't know that English people say English Catholic. They would just say Catholic," I discussed with Natasha. "Like whereas I would feel a need to say French Catholic." "Yeah. And I have said that," she replied. "In my husband's church. They were just like 'Oh…, is this your first time here?' I'm like, 'Yes. I'm French Catholic.' I'm not sure why the need to

[391] Michel Perron.
[392] André Laperrière.
[393] Rhéaume Rochefort.

say French Catholic is something but yeah."[394] "Maybe it's just cause I grew up in a Catholic French community but yeah... I can't separate them in my head. Like they just belong together I guess."[395]

3.3.2. Fasting and Feasting

Today there are two big celebrations and times of the year when my participants, who do not normally do so, either attend mass or practice Catholic rituals: Easter and Christmas.[396] In the past, there was also mandatory fasting every Sunday before receiving the Eucharist. Fasting has long been an important religious practice because of the references to it in the Bible. Jesus fasted in order to gain a closer connection with his father, to renounce the excess of the world, and to deepen his spirituality. Historically, these same messages were transmitted to Catholics who were forced to fast before mass in order to be able to take communion.

Abstaining from eating certain foods, such as meat on certain days, was also an important Catholic practice that most of my participants can relate to. Like fasting, abstinence is a personal practice meant to focus the individual inward. Before Vatican II, Catholics were not allowed to eat meat on Friday; a rule that was also followed faithfully. [397] The most common substitution for meat was fish, of which there was an abundance in Lake Nosbonsing, but the local grocery store also ordered in salmon

[394] Natasha Krauss.
[395] Jean-Pierre Perron.
[396] I have not included a discussion of baptisms, marriages, funerals, or other Catholic rites of passage since I do not feel I received enough information about these rituals. It was clear from some people that they are important while others purposely cut them out of their lives. In some cases, family members influenced the decision to baptise children while in other cases those pressures were blatantly ignored. Overall, there were too many differing opinions and too many variations to get into a discussion about this aspect of religious views. Moreover, there were no real food-related aspects to these discussions – another reason they do not fit well here. It is important to note that before Vatican II there were more rituals at more times of the year. For example, participants in both the *Astorville Celebrates* project and this research project who were born before 1970 recount processions through the village for La fête Dieu and special songs that were sung to honour the Virgin Mary during the month of May. Again, however, there was no sign that there was any special food at any of these events. After Vatican II, the liturgical calendar put more emphasis on the birth and death of Christ. Since these other rituals and festivities are no longer celebrated in Astorville, there seems to be a correlation between Vatican II and changing practices in the community.
[397] There were technically other days that Catholics were to abstain from meat but my participants only ever talked about Fridays.

that residents would buy. Some would then preserve it by canning it. Salmon pie and/or patties were common. Like tourtière and cipaille, salmon pie can be made in a large quantity and so will feed many people. Because there is a relatively small amount of fish mixed in with lots of mashed potatoes, it is also an economical and relatively simple meal to make.

Since the birth and death of Jesus are obviously key moments for all Catholics, the corresponding celebrations of Christmas and Easter and the food consumed on these occasions are significant. Vatican II eliminated the need to fast before mass. Yet, both holidays include a feast that comes at the end of a period of fasting. Though the rules about fasting have changed considerably through the years, it is still part of the collective memory when speaking of the Church in general and of Easter specifically. This next section will therefore look at how ideas and practices of first fasting and then feasting have shaped individual identity and the cultural group as a whole.

3.2.3. Easter and Brunch

Many of the members of my study born before the 1960s remember fasting before going to church. In fact, Yvonne Buckner specifies, one could not eat after midnight. On Good Friday, Bernard Rochefort explains, "on jeunait… jusqu'à… Samedi Saint… On mangeait pas l'vendredi pent toute."[398] Growing up I had heard these stories of fasting from my mother and my grandparents. By the time I was born in the 1980s, there was no longer any societal pressure to fast before mass but I do remember a few Good Fridays when my mother tried to have us eat nothing at all or to only consume bread and water until after the three o'clock mass. I didn't like the experience and neither did my siblings. When speaking of these moments, Lydia tells me, "Yeah. And I went to Coralie's and I ate Fruit Roll Ups... We were allowed bread and water. That's what I remember of Good Friday. You were allowed like bread and water. As a sacrifice. But it wasn't like a complete fast."[399] David remembers those Good Fridays as "the

[398] Bernard Rochefort.
[399] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.

one day where you're not supposed to eat anything but water or something. But we didn't do that for that long. I remember hiding food in my room anyways."[400]

A few hours without food was not much fun and I still, to this day, have a hard time believing that the men and women of the past, people who did physical labour every day, would follow these rules. I mentioned my skepticism to Yvonne Buckner who, being born in the 1920s, not only experienced this custom as a child but also upheld it in her own home as a wife and mother. People must have cheated, I speculated. But she shrugged her shoulders. That's just the way things were back then, she inferred. From my position in 2018 this is nonsensical. After all, as many of my participants commented, these rules no longer make sense. "[Q]ue c'que ça change?" Natalie asks. "Comme avant tu pouvais pas manger avant que t'ai ton hostie. Puis qu'est c'que ça donnait ça?... obviously ça changé puis on est pas toute mort avec notre âme sale or whatever it was. I don't think these things make sense. J'pense que le plus que les gens deviennent instruits puis éduqués, le plus qu'y réalisent, these things don't make sense.[401]

When I was in school God, Jesus, and Mary were love. They represented all that was good. It's difficult to understand not only that "dans c'temps-là [les prêtres] régnaient par la terreur," but also that "[les gens] en avait peur. Y avait peur des malédictions. J'me souviens mon oncle quand qu'on commençait les foins, y allait d'mander une dispense, au prêtre, pour pouvoir travailler l'dimanche… Dans c'temps là les gens avaient PEUR. Parc' que si y allait pas d'mander pour une dispense, les machines allaient casser, y allait mouiller sur son foin. Malédictions."[402] The cultural and social changes that have taken place in Canada and other parts of the world, have certainly allowed for personal autonomy and allowed individuals to question dogma. In earlier times, however, society did not.

[400] David Weiskopf, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.
[401] Natalie Weiskopf.
[402] Michel Perron.

Though the changes made in Vatican II that put more emphasis on an individual connection with God may seem liberating to us today, to those who had been following strict rules, such as those associated with fasting and abstinence, the right to eat meat on Fridays did not immediately translate into a foregoing of what had become tradition. As the Radio-Canada reports "La fin des vendredis maigres" and "Vendredi maigre" reveal, not everyone was comfortable with the new rules and some vowed to continue these customs. Knowing that routines can be hard to break, I expected that a large enough number of those members of my study born before the 1960s would still, to some extent, be following these rules. Indeed, Laurette Dégagné shares that both she and her mother still do and that Yvonne "[é]tait toute désapointée qu'elle avait manqué une partie [du Carême]"[403] when no one told her Lent had started. Rhéal Perron also told me that on "Vendredi Saint j'ai fait un effort pour pas manger d'viande mais c'est juste parc' que j'voulais l'faire."[404]

Though I did not speak to anyone who fasts on Good Friday or before mass, I was surprised to learn that some people my own age also follow the tradition of not eating meat on either Fridays in general and Good Friday specifically. "Toujours du poisson. C'est toujours du poisson. Du saumon. Du poisson, du riz, un légume,"[405] France Carroll explains as their normal Friday meals. Eric Roy makes an effort to abstain from meat on Good Friday because the habit "just stuck" [406] with him. "[C]'était une tradition qu'on… continue," Micheline Dégagné shares. "So mon père, ma mère, ma sœur... [o]n mange pas… d'viande du tout du tout… j'veux continuer la tradition avec Kayl."[407] "Good Friday we always had fish. Always. Even now we still do that,"[408] Jessica Perron tells me. Here too we see that traditional foods are defined as both regular practices and habits related to special occasions.

[403] Laurette Dégagné.
[404] Rhéal Perron.
[405] France Carroll.
[406] Eric Roy.
[407] Micheline Dégagné
[408] Jessica Perron.

I admit that I had assumed most people had let this tradition go partly because it's not something I really discuss with people. Good Friday rituals are not a common topic of discussion and since our family has a huge roast beef or ham dinner that day, I just figured others had given up the fish tradition as well. Some people, however have centred their Good Friday event around this food restriction and made fish one of the main attractions. Natasha, for example, explains that some of the sounds and smells she associates with her childhood are those of "a fish fry. Because every Easter we would always have a whole bunch of people over and it would be pot luck style and we would always have a big fish fry outside. We did that for years. So… every time it's like springtime and I hear [the] sizzling of a deep fryer or smell fish,"[409] it brings her back to those events. "We never went to an Easter party and had steak," Pat tells me. "Every year they'd come over for a big fish fry. Mom and dad would get a bunch of fish and they'd play cards."[410] "Good Friday for us, the Laferrière household, there was like six different pies, salmon pies… some had onions, some had more potatoes, some had less potatoes but salmon pie was a big. It was a traditional thing and that, usually, was Easter."[411]

These happy memories of more happy times make one wonder where the sacrifice is exactly. As Yvette Loeffen asked during our discussion, "Si tu aimes beaucoup l'poisson. C'est tu un sacrifice pas manger d'viande puis manger du poisson l'vendredi?"[412] Indeed it seems that these families have not only embraced the restriction but have turned what could be considered negative foods that could breed resentment toward religion, authority, and the past into moments of laughter, love, and joy.

Fasting and abstinence has historically been associated with being healthy, both literally and figuratively, as it has been presented as a way to give the body a chance to cleanse itself and to be

[409] Natasha Krauss.
[410] Pat Dégagné.
[411] Nathalie Boucher.
[412] Yvette Loeffen, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.

healthier biologically and spiritually. Importantly, Easter always comes with Lent, forty days that are still considered a time of sacrifice where individuals give something up. In the past, the something was often food. “Pas d’bonbons,” Micheline reminisces laughing. “Puis j’ai trouvé ça TRÈS difficile... Ah oui, trente jours de pas d’bonbons là!”[413] Sometimes the “something” given up was for self improvement. “Mon père avait arrêté de fumer… pendant le carême une fois,” Aline Coote chuckles. It also meant eating less meat overall.[414] Thus the people I interviewed who were born before and around the 1960s remember the period of Lent as being a time when they would eat foods they did not eat as often or at all during the rest of the year – more fish for one thing and a lot more eggs. “À Pâques,” Michel Perron remembers, “ma mère faisait un affaire avec un œuf… avec du saumon une sauce blanche avec des œufs bouillis là d’dans. Ça j’me souviens là j’en ai mangé quand j’tais jeune puis j’pense ça fait peut-être 40 ans que j’ai pas mangé d’ça. C’était particulier à Pâques dans… l’temps du Carême.”[415] “On mangeait beaucoup d’œufs,” Bernard Rochefort recalls. “Beaucoup, beaucoup d’œufs… Ma mère était b’en forte à faire des omelettes.”[416]

These food habits correspond with practical, agricultural realities. As Bernard goes on to explain, “[o]n tuait nos propres poulets. Le seule temps qu’on avait pas d’viande…, d’viande fraiche, c’était comme le mois d’avril puis le mois d’mai. La viande qu’on tuait au mois d’décembre était g’lé puis était mis dans l’grain. Puis au printemps si y en restait, y essayait d’en garder, ma mère le coupait puis elle l’faisait cuire puis a mettait dans des jars.”[417] The period that Lent falls in is thus also the time of year when these rural inhabitants had less access to meat. Moreover, spring is the time of year when chickens begin producing more eggs. In *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval*

[413] Micheline Dégagné.
[414] Aline Coote.
[415] Michel Perron.
[416] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[417] Bernard Rochefort, Peronal Interview.

Women, Caroline Walker Bynum takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of feasting and fasting in popular culture to remind her readers that though food is readily available to us today, food scarcity was a reality in the medieval period.[418] Food historians such as Joan Thirsk in *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* and Ken Albala in *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, explain to a greater extend these shifts in food availability.[419] Together, works such as these help explain how ideas of eating became popular in the medieval period. Popular culture, Bynum's work shows, incorporated the tension between excess and scarcity by equating overeating and gluttony with carnal pleasure while fasting or deliberately holding back from eating was associated with piety and good health. From the stories I heard from my participants, it is clear that even though they were farmers, the early residents of Astorville did not have an abundance of food. ''C'tait pas toujours bon là," Michel reminds me as we talk about fasting and food abstinence. "Les gens 'taient pauvres en général puis y mangeaient pas comme on mange aujourd'hui quand même."[420]

It's important to remember too, Laurette Dégagné reminded me during our discussion about fasting before church, that mass was a lot earlier back then. "Les messes étaient à huit heure. Neuf heure même… y avait pas d'messe à midi, à onze heure. Y avait pas d'messe le soir d'avant."[421] In fact, in her interview Aline talks about going to mass at seven o'clock in the morning. This certainly makes the length of fasting time more reasonable. "Did people, especially the men, complain?" I asked my grandfather. "B'en pas vraiment," he answered. "[C]'est que souvent les hommes. Je sais pas si y allaient communier à toutes les dimanches. Je sais qu'y allaient communier d'habitude le premier… dimanche du mois… si on allait communier, y fallait pas manger avant."[422] The dichotomy between feasting and fasting

[418] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
[419] Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2006) and Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (London: University of California Press, 2002).
[420] Michel Perron.
[421] Laurette Dégagné.
[422] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.

has other significant cultural implications. Works such as Bynum's, that focus on taking communion in the Catholic church, show that fasting is also closely tied to issues of power and authority.[423] In "The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist," for example, Amy Nelson Burnett explains that the "context in which one received communion contributed significantly to how one perceived the balance between its individual and its social aspects" because it was a sign of a link to Christ and it was also a link to the parish priest as "it implied clerical approval of one's devotional life, particularly when received at times other than Easter."[424] The right to grant or refuse permission to take communion meant that the priest had the power to accept or reject members. Moreover, because all those who had been granted approval to take communion took it together, the eating of the host was an act of community tying individuals to each other.

Because people could not eat before mass, the meals they ate afterwards are all the more significant as there would have been a communal breaking of the fast. Even today, my younger participants report that "on mangeait toujours un p'tit peu, juste un p'tit quelque chose avant d'aller [à la messe] puis on allait bruncher après."[425] By the time brunch is served, people are hungry. This ritual of brunching is complicated when not all the members of the family attend mass. My mother, for example, shared that "pour moi, ça, c'te brunch là de dimanche, c'était [une grosse] chose… On a toujours eu des brunches les dimanches… J'pense que ça v'nait du fait que les gens mangeaient pas avant d'aller à la communion, right. Alors t'arrivais, t'avais faim. Maman faisait toujours un gros brunch. C'tait toujours bacon and eggs. Des fois y avait des saucisses ou des crêpes ou que chose comme ça mais. Toujours." When she married my father, however, she lost this part of herself partly because we had moved to

[423] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.
[424] Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist." Past & Present 211.1 (2011), 94. Easter was traditionally the busiest time of year for confessions as members of the congregation had to confess at least once during the year between one Easter and the next. Confessing at Easter was known as "*faire tes Pâques*."
[425] Patrick Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 24, 2016.

Chisholm and did not attend the same mass as her parents but also because "le dimanche était… juste une autre journée puis papa avait B'EN des jobs à faire puis… même si moi j'allais à messe, papa était occupé à travailler. On a jamais eu ce feeling là de famille de brunch… Ça c'est une partie de ma vie que j'ai beaucoup manqué."[426]

Through the evolution of a family's brunching habits we therefore also see how societal changes impact family gatherings. When my parents were growing up, Sundays were still days of rest. Stores were closed and no one worked. My father's German family also observed this practice and they would spend their day going for a family car ride or going to visit friends. By the time my parents were adults, however, Sundays did not have the same focus on family and became another day for work outside the home. The changed attitudes toward waged labour and rest are also seen on a daily basis, Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx says in her interview.[427] Today, people bring their work home with them all the time. Though technology has made communication and access to information instant, it also means we can be reached by employers at all hours of the day and on weekends. People expect services on the weekend and so that means someone has to be there to offer those services.

3.3.4. Christmas

Just as fasting has its own historical implications, feasts have been the focus of much academic work in a variety of disciplines. The feasts of the Medieval and Renaissance period were large and full of excess. Recipe books of the time played on this excess by including recipes for large banquets that included lots of servants, rich food, and visual spectacles that were meant to impress the guests. Importantly, "[w]hen hosts invited guests to dine, the feast that followed was not just for pleasure; it was a visible, inescapable symbol of power."[428] During such occasions, guests were meant to feast with

[426] Carmen Weiskopf.
[427] Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2016.
[428] Anne Willan with Mark Cherniavsky and Kyri Claflin, *The Cookbook Library: Four Centuries of the Cooks, Writers, and Recipes That Made the Modern Cookbook* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, n.d.), 41.

their eyes before they were able to eat with their mouths. While the power in church rested with the priest, feasts in private homes assume a similar system of power and hierarchy. Not only does the host decide who will be invited and who will be excluded but they may also decide who sits where, who eats first, and what is eaten. Even today, celebrations are a way to demonstrate financial success. Depending on what is served, the individual organising the celebration reveals through their choices how they perceive themselves in relation to others.

Unlike Easter, which is associated with a lot of fasting, Christmas is about excesses of food. The Advent does not, at least in the collective memory of the people I interviewed, impose the same expectations of sacrifice and restraint. Preparing one's heart of the birth of Christ, rather than his death, is decidedly happier. When he was a boy, my grandfather remembers that on Christmas Eve "tout l'monde faisait jeune. Personne mangeait, pratiquement pas…, la veille de Noël. Toute la journée. Puis on allait à la messe de minuit puis comme de raison quand on arrivait on avait… beaucoup faim. Puis là on avait toutes… c'qu'y était bon. Les tourtières, les saucisses puis des affaires de même."[429] While my mother did not talk about fasting, she certainly remembers the tradition of the Réveillon continuing in her home and all the food her mother made.

> À Noël…, quand qu'on revenait de la messe de minuit, y avait toujours un bouillon d'poulet. C'était un bouillon claire. Puis après ça on avait des tourtières. Elle avait des pains. Elle avait toute sortes de biscuits. Elle avait toujours des salades. J'm'en souviens, comme j't'ai dit, Maman était toujours après des nouvelles choses. C'était toute la grosse affaire. Des jelly salads. Oh my gosh! C'était tu pas que chose. T'sais y en avait qui étaient aux choux puis y en avait d'autre c'était aux fruits. Puis pouvoir sortir ça de ce mold là que ça soit toute beau puis décoré toute

[429] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.

autour l'affaire, t'sais. J'peux pas dire j'ai jamais vraiment aimé ça mais, t'sais. Y avait toujours quelque chose. Maman était toujours… avec les nouvelles choses.[430]

During her food making video, my mother adds that "ma mère a toujours fait des tourtières à toutes les Noël puis j'pense des fois à n'en faisait comme une vingtaine. C'était une grosse chose dans notre temps. On avait des tourtières pour le réveillon d'Noël puis pendant les fêtes quand qu'la visite à v'nait on sortait toujours des tourtières."[431] Yvette Loeffen and her sister Laurette Dégagné remember their mother making a three-layer fruit cake "décoré en blanc avec des… brillants là-dessus."[432]

Though Christmas Eve and the "Réveillonesque" night is still important to some families, it is not the norm. Though my participants do celebrate Christmas, for the majority mass is no longer the force that drives the celebration. Whereas individuals used to spend the whole day looking forward to the feast that awaited their return from church, today, people make Christmas meet their schedules. This means that some celebrate Christmas Eve but others celebrate on Christmas Day or Boxing Day or on a weekend before or after when more people can come. This flexibility allows more family members to be present but it also change the focus of the event. People still go to church but it seems that, more and more, going to church is but a small part, "the French part,"[433] of what is really about getting together with family.

Because they are big family meals, a large roast, either turkey or ham, is normally served along with vegetables such as turnip, potatoes, and carrots and lots of desserts. What distinguishes these meals from everyday meals is really, for many of my participants, the meat itself as neither turkey nor ham are common dinner items. "Yeah," Natasha confirms. "If you had turkey it was because it was…

[430] Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., December 13, 2015.
[431] Carmen Weiskopf, April 28, 2016.
[432] Yvette Loeffen.
[433] David Weiskopf.

Thanksgiving or Easter, Christmas."[434] This meal is also made special by the number of side dishes and the time it takes to prepare them. Jessica shares that "if my dad makes like a big turkey meal, he's in the kitchen like all day. Like preparing things and we normally always help peel potatoes and cut carrots and stuff like that but it's… a big process for him. Yeah. Most of his meals are like, maybe like a roast, you know you throw it in the oven and you just leave it. It's not something that you're constantly monitoring."[435]

While it is clear from the testimonies I have shared above that not everyone relates to these traditional foods in the same way, there are some foods, for some people, that do hold a lot of importance. Tourtière is one of them. When my mother made her tourtière for her second interview, she spoke at length, and quite emotionally, about what they mean to her:

> Ça l'amène vraiment un sentiment chaleureux en d'dans… nous même quand on fait des tourtières. Ça m'fait penser toujours à ma mère qui est maintenant décédée. Ça m'fait penser à mes grand-mères. Ça m'fait penser à mes cousines. Cette été j'ai eu la chance de visiter avec deux de mes cousines que j'avais pas vu ça faisait, oh, 25 ans, 30 ans j'pense même… Et puis on s'parlait un peu à propos des recettes à nos mères puis comment qui s'y prenaient puis ces choses-là. C'était vraiment intéressant. So aujourd'hui pendant qu'j'faisais mes tourtières, j'ai pensé à eux autre aussi qui vont faire la même chose en pensant à leurs mères. Alors c'est un met qui est une tradition canadienne-française. Mais c'est, pour moi, c'est pas juste le fait que c'est un met tradition[nel] canadienne-française… pour moi c'est un met de famille. C'est que qu'chose qu'on fait que j'trouve qui nous tiens ensemble. Qui nous tiens ensemble avec…, notre passé. Notre présent. Et espérèrent avec notre future.[436]

[434] Natasha Krauss.
[435] Jessica Perron.
[436] Carmen Weiskopf, December 13, 2016.

Not everyone shared on such a personal level, which I understand given the formality of the interview process. But tourtière does still figure on the Christmas menu in many homes. Lisa Loeffen says that "la veille de Noël… mom va avoir fait des tourtières alors d'habitue on mange une tourtière puis j'me dis toujours le jour de Noël ça prend comme une dinde."[437] Jessica Perron shares that "[t]urkey, yeah. Ham… Yeah that's one thing he made, he used to make a ham… there was always the cipaille and the meat pie [at] Christmas."[438] Lydia explains that "the meal has changed over the time but I guess we have our potato rolls… and our tourtière… and the cookies that are kind of standard. But other things about that night… have changed… I've come to the conclusion food's important. You want like something special. [But i]t was more important [that] Mom not be[] in the kitchen all day and we have time to visit and we're not stressed out."[439]

Understanding how religion impacts personal and group identity has added an important element to this study about French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians. While observing any Sunday mass will confirm that there are fewer people in the building than before, paying attention to attitudes about religion and seeing how those religious traditions permeate in the yearly celebrations surrounding those religious holidays helps us see the ways in which individuals still participate in these long standing rituals even when they may not, on principle, support the institution itself. Ultimately, it is not enough to know if people have ever fasted during Lent, confessed at Easter, or abstained from eating meat on Fridays. It is not even enough to know if they identify as Catholic on the census or if they go to church. Though a yes or a no is informative, knowing whether the choice was imposed or purposefully made, whether it was difficult or easy to follow the rule, whether the rule is still being followed or if they have changed their practices is far more telling.

[437] Lisa Loeffen.
[438] Jessica Perron.
[439] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.

Looking at fasting and feasting habits related to the celebrations of Easter, mass, and Christmas show us what the people who are coming together value. In "'Concern and sympathy in a Pyrex bowl': Cookbooks and Funeral Foods," Donna Brien notes that we use food to signal the moments that are important to us. These "meals embody both personal and group identities because both how and what is eaten 'lies at the heart of who we are as individuals, families, communities.'"[440] My participants might be gathering during religious holidays but family is the driving force. "La vie est difficile," Pauline Rochefort tells me. "On vit dans un monde compliqué. Bien des risques puis j'penses quand t'as toujours que chose de solide en toi que tu sais es une racine. Roche. Un encre... Pour des enfants qui grandissent c'est une chose avoir ce sentiment-là. D'appartenir. D'être aimé. Quand t'as déjà ça en toi, t'as pas besoin de chercher."[441] These celebrations, no matter their origin or the reason for gathering are therefore a place where "qu'est c'que tu fais, que t'entreprend que le monde voit puis que les jeunes voient puis y émulent, y peuvent émuler, c'est ça qui apportent avec eux dans l'futur… Y veulent avoir le plaisir que tu as."[442] "On puisse dans nos traditions pour trouver notre courage et notre force," Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx says. "C'est pas juste qu'est c'qu'on met dans l'plat mais qu'est c'qu'on s'dit quand qu'on l'met dans l'plat… C'est les conversations puis les senteurs."[443]

[440] Donna Brien "'Concern and sympathy in a pyrex bowl": Cookbooks and Funeral Foods" *M/C Journal* 16.3 (Jun. 2013), accessed July 30, 2013, <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/655>
[441] Pauline Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 21, 2016.
[442] Paul-Marie Girard, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., February 28, 2016.
[443] Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx.

Reflection 3

I turn right out of the Walmart parking lot and head to the Independent Grocery Store for my last stop before going to pick the girls up at my parents'. I want to bring a dessert with us this weekend and I've decided to make a Banana Cake with a Seven Minute Maple Frosting. The cake is a simple recipe and the maple syrup frosting, a trickier element, makes it special. I can use our homemade maple syrup which will add a personal touch. I park again and, getting out of the car, suddenly realise that I've picked one of my grandfather's favourite desserts to bring with me. Was this a subconscious way for me to be connected with my family while I'll be away? Interesting.

I push my cart through the main grocery store doors and head into the produce section wanting to get a few things for when we get back on Sunday. I look at the tomatoes and read that they are from Mexico. Disappointed, I move on to the potatoes. They'll keep better than the tomatoes anyway. I try to be conscious of where my food comes from. I also try to share this perspective with my daughters. But it's hard. We've been living in our house for seven years now and I still don't have a real garden. Three years ago my brother-in-law made me small boxes that I put on the deck. That was okay for a few, really short, carrots, but they weren't really deep enough. Last year Will and I built a longer, deeper box that we put on our deck. It produced better carrots and some beans but I overfilled it. Also, it wasn't big enough for the cucumbers I planted. I had really good pumpkins start in a separate pot on the deck but the pot didn't have drainage holes and, when we got a lot of rain in August, the plants drowned. I'm hoping this year will be better. Actually, I'm hoping to build myself a real garden out on the lawn next year when I'm finished my PhD and have time. As a teacher, I'm off for the summer so the workload should be manageable. The expense of building a garden will be more of an issue than anything. We have a lot of deer around so we'll need a good fence. I'd also like a composter. We had one before we moved. Right now, it seems like a lot of work to be bringing the compost out every

night. During the winter, I'd need a trail. I feel these are lame excuses but right now, when I get home, every minute counts. By the time dinner is made, the kids' homework is done and they're in bed, I tackle laundry, the washrooms, any work I may have brought home and, somewhere in there, my school work. A simple task like composting is just too much right now.

I feel a sudden vibration in my coat pocket and realise I've gotten a text.

"Can you get some ketchup?" Will has written.

"Sure," I answer and head to the condiment aisle.

When I get there I'm again confronted with my failure to uphold traditions and customs. I admit I've never made ketchup or relish. I did try corn relish and pickles one summer. The recipe had seemed so simple with just a few ingredients but both were inedible disasters. I had been so disappointed! I had also been really humbled by the experience. It had made me appreciate the skill that is needed to make certain foods. Some people have that knack. Jessica, Micheline, and Natasha, for example, talk about canning and preserving like it's second nature. They just get to work and don't think twice and are happy with their results. But they obviously understand the science behind the recipe. Marie-Claire reminded in me in her interview that these recipes may seem simple but there are a lot of factors to consider when making them. When we talked about my failed attempt she asked me all sorts of questions: How ripe was your corn? What variety was it? How many red peppers did you add? How sweet were they? How long did you let the mixture cook? I had no idea. I had just thrown all the ingredients into a pot.

I pick up the ketchup and put it in my cart and head down the next aisle. The baking section. This is one place I feel very much at home. I make a lot of desserts. I also really enjoy making bread. I make good pies. My cakes may be a little dry but I still make them. The other day, one of my friends had asked me if it wasn't a little bit ironic that I'm doing a PhD about food

when I'm one of the pickiest eaters she knows. "And," she had added, "you don't make half of the things you're writing about." It's true. I am a picky eater. I don't make cipaille. I've only made baked beans a handful of times. I have clearly never heard of *des glissants* or *bouili aux fêves* or *gigot*. I refuse to eat blood sausage. I don't can or preserve anything.

But there are lots of things I do make and I make them because I like them. I make a lot of soup. I've never made Pea Soup but I make all sorts of other kinds of soups and always with stock that I make from leftover chicken bones. I do make a lot of fruit pies. I even make my own yogurt.

My phone rings suddenly cutting off my train of thought. It's Karena Face Timing me.

"Maman! Maman! Guess what?" she shouts excitedly into the phone. I just see the top of her head because she's shaking the phone around so much. "On est entrain de faire des pettes de soeurs! Grand-maman a dit qu'on va manger des pettes!"

I can hear Krysten laughing beside her and catch a glimpse of her laughing eyes before Karena turns the phone around to show me the island counter where my mother has rolled her dough out into a long rectangle.

"Bien j'viens juste de faire une tarte pour la fin d'semaine puis y m'restais d'la pâte. Les filles ont trouvé ça pas mal drôle quand j'les ai dit que j'f'rais des pettes de soeurs."

"Vous avez déjà mange ça," I tell the girls a little insulted that something I make anytime I have left over pie dough seems so new to them.

"Mais on savait pas c'était des pettes de soeurs!" Krysten replies. "On savait pas le nom."

"Grand-maman fait une tarte avec des raisins dedans," Krysten says grabbing the phone from her sister and switching the screen around again.

“Oui. J’ai lu au sujet de tarte à farlouche dans ton chapitre et j’en n’avais jamais entendu parlé. Mais j’ai fait un Google search et j’ai réalisé que ma mère faisait des tartes à farlouche tout l’temps. C’est juste une tarte aux raisins.”

“J’aime pas les raisins,” Karena says.

“I LOVE des raisins!” Krysten exclaims. “A hundred million eighteen five love des raisins!”

“Fun, vous autre!” I answer. “J’ai presque fini au magasin d’épiceries. J’arrive bientôt.”

“Okay, Maman,” Karena says pulling the phone back from her sister.

“Peux-tu me ramasser un sac de lait?” my mother gets in before Karena disconnects us.

Why do we make certain foods but not others? This is something I ponder on my way to the milk section. Part of it is obviously evolution. I mean there was a time when people milked their own cows. And then it was delivered every morning by the milk man. And now here I am reaching into a cooler to pick up a bag of it. The availability of certain products makes it easier to make what we want when we want. As I round the cooler section of the grocery store, I stop, grab, and throw two bags of mixed, frozen berries into my cart. There was a time when people depended on foraging for their berries but now I can make the smoothie I love every morning with berries that have been grown and picked in Mexico and then packaged in Toronto. I get the irony here too of course. I’ve just bypassed Mexican tomatoes but am buying Mexican berries. I don’t need either. I can adjust my diet. But I want the berries so I’ll buy them.

Part of our food habits are a product of the technological evolution that has permitted a global food market. Another part has to do with knowledge and skill. If I failed at making corn relish and pickles, it’s partly because I didn’t grow up in a home where someone made them. These foods have not been part of a yearly ritual the way, say jam, was. My mother made jam

every year and I do too. Just as important as evolution and exposure in the study of foodways however, is recognising that a lot of it likely comes down to taste. We make what tastes good. I would never make tarte à farlouche for myself because I can't stand raisins. This pie actually sounds like a giant butter tart. I love butter tarts. As long as they don't have any raisins. I like sugar pie. But I rarely make it because I find it too sweet. So it makes sense, I think, that certain foods continue in some homes but not in others. Plus, just because they miss a generation doesn't mean they can't be revitalised and reinstated into the culinary repertoire. Maybe this will be the case for tarte à farlouche. Maybe others will read this paper and be reminded of foods they liked as kids or foods they haven't made in a while and will be inspired to bring those recipes back out. Like gigot. We tried that at the Dégagné camp in the fall and it was so good Will is going to make it next year. Maybe this will become a tradition for us too. I know I'll be trying bouili aux fêves and I'll think of Cole and Hailly picking beans. I'll think of Louis Perron even if I didn't know him that well. Maybe others will learn about really good recipes they've never tried and will be tempted to look the recipes up and make them for a first time.

Chapter 4: What Matters is the Matter: How Ingredients Produce Foodways

Brillat-Savarin's adage, "tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are,"[444] we saw in the previous chapter, is partially true. The previous section hinted at a lot of ways in which cultural acts are linked to the materiality of food ingredients, food production, and food practices and demonstrated that the "what" we eat is more complex than we may think. From salmon pies to tourtière, looking at what we consume at our celebrations helps us understand what we have come to expect at certain events and to acknowledge that the food we put in our bodies is not arbitrary. Eating is a social process that has, to a large extent, been determined for us by others. Many scholars agree that understanding the "what" of these rituals means more than simply identifying the celebration and the food. As Kyla Wazana Tompkins argues in *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century*, it is not the "what" that matters as much as the

> "where" of where we eat and where food comes from; the "when" of historically specific economic conditions and political pressures; the 'how" of how food is made; and the "who" of who makes and who gets to eat it. Finally, and most important, it is the many "whys" of eating – the differing imperatives of hunger, necessity, pleasure, nostalgia, and protest – that most determine its meaning. In reckoning with each of these interrogatives, by turning them *into* interrogatives, we can begin to get at the materialist conditions that determine how, and why, to borrow from Judith Butler, the matter of food comes to "matter."[445]

Thus while knowing what people are celebrating allows us to identify when and where certain foods are consumed, the food itself is a key player in the event that must also be analysed. "[D]u ragout," may

[444] Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, "On Taste" *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*, Edited by Carolyn Korsmeyer (New York: Berg, 2007), 15-23.
[445] Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 4.

seem like just "du ragout," but knowing how it is made, where the ingredients come from, when it became popular (or when it fell out of favour), and how it has evolved over time means appreciating that the food itself is in fact a character wielding its own weight and power.

In material culture studies, objects are acknowledged as having their own biographies.[446] If autobiography and ethnography are the study of a human's possibilities and experiences in a given place and time, studying material objects similarly allows us to "understand culture [and thus] discover the beliefs – the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions – of a particular community or society at a given time."[447] This is because "human-made objects reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who commissioned, fabricated, purchased, or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which these individuals belonged."[448] As Sidney Mintz explains in *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, because this method is "concerned with how people stubbornly maintain past practices, even when under strong negative pressures, but repudiate other behaviors quite readily in order to act differently, these materials throw light upon the historical circumstances from a perspective different from the historian's."[449] Arjun Appardurai calls this the "social life" of objects because, essentially, objects interact with humans and allow them to behave in specific ways.[450]

We saw in Chapter 2 that the founding families of Astorville transmitted two types of heritage to the next generation: material goods in the form of land and equipment and spiritual or ideological

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[446] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Edited by Arjun Appadurai (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64-91.
[447] J. Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?" *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Edited by Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 1.
[448] Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture," 1.
[449] Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985), xxvi.
[450] Arjun Appardurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Edited by Arjun Appadurai (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63.

heritage in the form of customs and traditions.[451] This chapter will study the material implications associated with transmitting culture. It will begin by considering aspects related to the land itself using the humanist geography theory of space and place. It will then look at the ways in which some of the foods identified by my participants as being traditional are acquired and how the acts of gardening, foraging, raising livestock, and hunting are significant to how individuals identify their food with their culture.

4.1.1. The Land

We saw in chapters 1 and 2 that Astorville has a long history as an agrarian community. The Free Grants and Homestead Act of 1868 allowed a person 18 years or older to "claim 100 acres and procure a deed within five years, if he built a 20 by 16-foot cabin, and cleared at least two acres a year."[452] Space, according to *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, can be defined as "a period of time; a limited extent in one, two, or three dimensions, an extent set apart or available, the distance from other people or things that a person needs in order to remain comfortable; a boundless three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction."[453] Space then, Helen Couclelis summarises in "Location, Place, Region, and Space," is "both expanse and confine, both what is between things and what contains them, both empty of matter and defined by the presence of matter."[454] The study of space starts in the black and white world of mathematics where, through geometry, one locates points on a plane to configure lines that close off an area.

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[451] Diane Farmer, *Artisans de la modernité : Les centres culturels de l'Ontario français* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1996), 32-33.
[452] Gisèle Reed, Pauline Rochefort, Lora Webb, and Emily Weiskopf-Ball. *Astorville – notre chez-nous/Astorville – our home* (Callander: Nicky Designs, 2015), 27.
[453] "Space, n." Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary accessed 18 June 2016. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/space.
[454] Helen Couclelis, "Location, Place, Region, and Space," *Geography's Inner Worlds: Pervasive Themes in Contemporary American Geography*, Edited by Ronald F. Abler, Melvin G. Marcus, and Judy M. Olson (United States of America: Rutgers, 1992), 215.

It is important that, today, Astorville's boundaries are difficult to trace. When I was growing up, people who lived on one side of Bertha and Quae Quae Roads went to school in Corbeil while those living on the other side went to school in Astorville. Later, Astorville, Corbeil, and the Hamlet of Derland were amalgamated to form the Township of East Ferris. Canada Post also has different definitions of what is what. Though we should all, technically, have East Ferris Township addresses, people either have Astorville or Corbeil addresses and there is no clear rule about where the line is. Today, the smaller communities of Astorville and Corbeil still exist in the collective memory of those who have grown up there, but their borders depend on who you are talking to.

If there are no borders, then what makes Astorville, Astorville? What allows my participants to have a connection to something that is hard to find on a map? The answer lies in the more philosophical realm of cognitive science and of linguistics than that of mathematics where, Couclelis explains, that literal, geometrically defined area, comes to mean something to people. "Experience," Yi-Fu Tuan explains, "is the totality of means by which we come to know the world: we know the world through sensation (feeling), perception, and conception."[455] We are born into a space we do not know. As we grow, we come to know the world by the ways we move through it. We learn to manipulate objects and make them work for us. We watch others move and internalise certain practices. We become aware of time and learn that our "present awareness… is imbued with past experiences of movement and time, with memories of past expenditures of energy, and it is drawn towards the future by the perceptual objects' call to action."[456] In doing so, we transform space, that extent, expanse, and distance, into something personally meaningful. We fill the space with stories or, as Couclelis says, "[m]yths [that] are spun around these transformations, projecting timeless realities of one kind (spiritual) onto timeless

[455] Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective," *Philosophy in Geography: Theory and Decision Library Volume 20*. Edited by S. Gale and G. Olsson (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1979), 388.
[456] Tuan, "Space and Place," 399-400.

realities of another kind (geographic). One's hometown is like no other place in the world; the home is where the heart is."[457] When space is filled with stories and memories, the humanist geographer argues, it becomes place.

This chapter is interested in exploring the ways in which my participants have used the landscape; how they have filled it with memories, created stories about spots within it, and moved through it. It is this understanding of Astorville, as not merely a space, but as a place to which my participants have a personal and meaningful connection that is telling of their personal mythologies. This chapter thus seeks to show how both the land and the ingredients, arguably common and unsophisticated objects, influence, support, and perpetuate my participants' connections to each other and their individual link to the larger culture and foodways.

Maps 4 and 5 in Chapter 1 show where families settled in Astorville and Chisholm Township when they arrived. Today, a similar map would show that some of the members of my study still live on, own part of, or have access to the land their ancestors cleared.[458] When they first arrived, Astorville was a vast extent of hills, trees, and rocks outlining the contours of the lake. It could not be reached by road or rail so pioneers came by boat from Bonfield. Astorville, like any other place, had to be etched out of the expanse. Importantly, there is a significant geographic similarity between Astorville and the areas of Quebec, especially Charlevoix and the Eastern Townships, from which these families came. The similarity

[457] Couclelis, "Location, Place, Region, and Space," 230.

[458] Pat Dégagné, for example, owns a cottage directly across the lake from where his Dégagné relatives had a cottage when he was a boy. His parents just bought a house on what was previously his mother's family's farm. His brother Eric, owns the 100 acres behind his house that was part of the Cantin farm. My parents, who live two doors down from Eric, built their house on part of the Cantin farmland. This land butts up against one of the Rochefort 100 acres that my uncle Rhéaume now owns. Though the Rocheforts no longer own the whole parcel of land from Astorville Road down to Lake Nosbonsing, my grandfather and all three of my maternal aunts own lots on it. The Laperrières I interviewed during the *Astorville Celebrates* project shared that they have always been very proud of their land on Concession 16. It was a big deal, Carole explained, when a sibling decided to sell a part of it to a non-family member. See Carole Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., March 1, 2015 and Victoria Laport, Personal Interview, Chisholm ON., April 26, 2015.

of the geography may be what attracted the original settlers and their families to this area – what allowed them to see possibility in this particular space versus other ones they may have chosen. When they got here, they created homes and roads. They gardened, hunted, and foraged to survive. They created stories about the trails they broke, the food they grew, and the game they caught. These stories are written onto and into the landscape and these practices have shaped the next generations.

In *On Trails: An Exploration*, Robert Moor explains that land markers are important cultural mnemonics. "When an indigenous community assimilates into the dominant culture, either by force, by desire, or from fears of being 'left behind,'… there is a concomitant loss of those threads that hold together culture: language, lore, religious practice, familial obligations, and relationship to place. At its core, the problem facing indigenous communities is mnemonic; the culture, long stored in the collective memory and encoded in the land, is gradually forgotten."[459] In Chapter 2, I quoted some of my participants saying that one of the reasons Astorville is less "French" today than it was in the past is because the founding families are moving out and are being replaced by Anglophones. I would argue, however, that the issue is not with Anglophones moving in but with the fact that the people who move here have no connection to the place. For example, my cousin and her husband rent the house next door to my parents – a house built in the early 1900s by the Cantin family. At a recent gathering someone asked him how he fit into the group that was assembled. He explained that he was married to Jolinne. "Oh!" the person said. "You're the one living in my aunt's old house." He gave her a blank stare and I stepped in to help explain the connection. These sorts of place-based associations to the land happen everywhere and, of course, are not specific to Astorville. However, when these connections are lost, when the farm land is sold and turned into subdivisions, when the stories are no longer shared, when

[459] Robert Moor, *On Trails: An Exploration* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 194. Moor's argument is very relevant given that the Algonquin were not only forced to stop using the land in question but have not figured in the area's written history.

people stop gardening, hunting, and foraging, then, like the Indigenous communities and trails of Moor's work, part of our culture is lost as well.

4.2. An Agricultural and Rural Past

For the settlers who moved to Astorville, agriculture was a very important means to an end. They came with a mission to clear the land to build farms without considering that the land was already being used by the Algonquin. As mentioned in Chapter 2 the farms built here were subsistence farms with a variety of livestock and that also grew hay for the animals. Farmers who had access to maple syrup could save themselves the cost of molasses, an important sweetener at the time. For the families who lived out in *les rangs*, going to the grocery store did not happen on a regular basis. Even though these families went to Astorville for church on the weekend, it is clear from the accounts in Rochefort's books and the interviews with elderly members of the community during the *Astorville Celebrates* project, that these outings did not include purchasing food. Families produced as much as they could themselves, including their own soap and wool. If they did purchase anything it was the staples, such as flour, molasses, and oats, that they could not produce themselves, or items such as tools, lamp oil, clothes, and footwear.

It is important to recognise the evolution of agriculture in Astorville to see how this common, rural past still influences my participants. Electricity did not arrive in Astorville until the end of the 1940s. That meant that wood was "as necessary as food," Bernard Rochefort explains in *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, "because it was the only means we had to heat our homes, to heat water, to cook food, to heat irons, etc."[460] This was a time when ice needed to be cut in the winter months and stored in ice sheds where sawdust insulated it to keep it from melting. There were traveling stallions that would come, a few times a summer, to impregnate the mares. One of my grandfather's

[460] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*. (Astorville: Tête du lac Publications, 2010), 22.

chores after school was to go get the sheep from the field so they would not be eaten by bears. He had to help milk the cows every day.

It is also important to remember that though my oldest participants remember life as being far more focused on the farm and far more physically demanding than it is today, they were not the ones who cleared or developed the land. They were born into a place that already had roads, schools, a church, and a store. When my great-grandfather arrived in Astorville at the age of five, his parents were the ones who came and altered this landscape forever.

4.2.1. Gardening and Foraging

For these first settlers, building a garden was important and, until that could be done, people planted potatoes between the trees.[461] Gardening, and eating potatoes, is still part of the food memories of growing up in the Depression years. "B'en. C'est certain qu'on avait un jardin," Yvonne Buckner states matter of factly. "C'est certain qu'on avait des patates."[462] The early gardens of Astorville contained "the basics"[463] – like carrots, cucumbers, potatoes, radishes, turnips. Not everyone remembers having corn and it wasn't until much later that people began experimenting with vegetables like zucchini and peppers. Garlic was unheard of.

That some foods, like carrots, cucumbers, potatoes, radishes, and turnips, were considered "basic" though they were not native to the area is an example of how settlers came to colonise the area. By bringing their foods from home, they were creating comfort and familiarity in a world that they very likely perceived to be wild and chaotic. This process is no different than the act of building roads, erecting homes, and flooding the land. That these vegetables are now considered traditional proves that the colonial project was successful.

[461] Rhéal Perron, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., April 7, 2016.
[462] Yvonne Buckner, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.
[463] Laurette Dégagné, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.

For some families, the garden was a source of revenue. Aline shares that when her mother was a kid, "y avait des gros jardins… Elle puis son père y allait jusqu'à North Bay avec tous leurs produits. Pour vendre au Farmers' Market… le jardin c'tait comme un moyen… de faire d'l'argent."[464] While other families may have also sold some produce at the market, most of my older participants focused on the ways in which these gardens were crucial to keeping the family fed on a daily basis. For families like Rhéal's, despite having a large garden, because people picked away at the produce over the course of the summer months, there was little left in the fall. "C'tait un jardin utile là," he explains. "Ma mère avait pas l'temps d'faire trop d'préserves. C'était pas ça le but là."[465] When my participants were growing up during the Depression, "many products were rationed: sugar, butter, and meat to name but a few."[466] But, because they lived on farms, they were able to generate enough meat, produce, and dairy products to satisfy their needs. Gardens, in this era, were a "necessity if they wanted to eat well."[467]

There was a stark contrast in the village between individuals who had acquired their land through the Free Grant and Homestead Act or who had inherited the land from their parents and those who had purchased the land. This was a time before health care, Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx reminds me, when any accident meant money normally spent on the farm would have to go to pay a doctor. Also where animals needed to stay healthy so they could work, and where any machinery malfunction was an expense that had to come from very limited funds. How people used the land and the resources it produced depended largely on their economic situation. Though Yvonne Buckner, Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Bernard Rochefort, or Rhéal Perron all remember eating smaller portions in their childhoods than they do today, none of them remembers being hungry. If Yvonne Patterson remembers eating meat

[464] Aline Coote, Personal Interview, Corbeil, ON., November 30, 2015.
[465] Rhéal Perron.
[466] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, 40.
[467] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, 66.

every night, other families did not have that luxury. In her husband's family, Marie-Claire says, meat was a treat and her mother-in-law was very good at stretching the meat out to feed her large family.[468]

People took advantage of the abundance of food, when there was some, to make special treats. For example, Yvonne Buckner shares that in the spring, when the chickens were laying a lot of eggs, it was possible to keep some, rather than sell them.

"Les enfants b'en s'a aimait d'la jello," Yvonne explains. "Bon. B'en là chez nous, pas d'argent pour ach'ter toute ça.[469] En toute les cas, c'était pas souvent qu'on mangeait des œufs nous. On gardait. Qu'à les payes. Mais… des fois, on aimait ça. Puis… une couple de semaines avant… Pâques, on avait des œufs souvent... L'œuf, j'le piquait là, juste pour faire un trou, pas toute le cassé. Puis là, j'ôtais. Ça on l'mangeait. J'faisait."

"Une omelette!" Laurette interjects.

"Y aimait ça. Manger d'l'omelette à b'en proche toutes les jours. Mais moi, les coquilles, j'les avaient gardez. J'faisais d'la jello puis coulé là d'dans. Puis j'le cachait. Pour pas qu'y l'trouve… Les enfants avaient des beaux œufs… j'le mettait deux trois jours avant proche du poêle pour que ça fonde. Après ça… j'allais les couler dans la coquille là. Puis. Le jour de Pâques on avait d'la jello."[470]

Others took advantage of the abundance to create social events. In the fall, Bernard Rochefort remembers, "[y] avait des pedleurs…, [o]n app'lait des pedleurs, [p]assaient avec un camion à l'automne, comme au mois d'septembre, octobre, [a]vec des paniers puis des barries d'pommes… Y avaient des

[468] Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2017.
[469] By this, Yvonne means that she did not have the money to buy namebrand Jello. Instead, she made her own "Jello" using gelatin and food colouring.
[470] Yvonne Buckner.

pêches peut-être aussi… [m]ais c'était surtout des pommes." His parents, "ach'taient toujours les gros paniers d'pommes… un quart de pomme," and his father would go to an event he called

> jouer aux pommes. C'est comme gambling… Ça fait qu'à toutes les automnes y s'rencontraient à une place puis… t'avais des chips puis le soir, b'en, après t'as fini d'jouer tu pouvais changer tes chips pour des pommes… [M]on père a dû être assez bon gambleur parc' qu'y arrivait toujours avec une couple de bushels de pommes… Mais à toutes les ans c'était à différentes maisons qu'y avait, c'tait ce jeux-là aux pommes. [Y] fallait qu'tu paies pour jouer… Mais l'idée c'était pour un sport plus que d'autre choses j'crée b'en. [M]ais, [t]'sais, si tu perdais, b'en tu perdais d'l'argent… Toutes les automnes toutes les hommes, b'en pas toutes les hommes, mais mon père y faisait ça anyway. Y allait jouer aux pommes.[471]

In addition to these special moments, the abundance of food meant that something had to be done with the excess to keep it from spoiling. Thus, for a number of families, the garden was a way to ensure that the variety of food and the access to fruits and vegetables customary during the summer was also possible during the winter. In the fall, the potatoes were stored in dark, unheated basements, and the carrots were buried in the sand. Many vegetables were pickled or preserved. "Y faisaient un grand, grand jardin l'été," Bernard shares, "puis [m]a mère à cannait, à cannait, à cannait toute, toute 'tait canné… Incroyable comment qu'a travaillé c'femme là. Incroyable... avait pas d'aide b'en b'en d'mes frères non plus… A cannait des tomates. A cannait le blé d'inde. Les fêves… Pas tellement des carottes. A gardait dans un caveau dehors [pour] ses carrottes… Ensuite toutes les réserves. On ramassait beaucoup d'fraises puis d'framboises. C'tait toute mis en reserve ça aussi pour l'hiver."[472]

[471] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 18, 2016.
[472] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.

As agriculture no longer represented a sustainable way of life and people downsized or moved off their farms, gardens got smaller as well. When my grandparents were having children in the 1950s and 1960s, I would argue that gardening was still at least partly necessary. With only one salary and many children, the garden helped supplement what had to be purchased. This was the case for Cody too, who, growing up in the 1980s, had five siblings. Though both his parents worked, the garden was an important source of fresh produce. "100%... [Gardens were] big. You know. Six kids more or less… No questions. Freeze all the peas, beans... On a regular basis. I bet you, potatoes. Chickens were common. I mean. People get excited for Thanksgiving. No. We ate chickens. A lot. That was a lot of meals for us. Chickens. Cipailles, whatever… Stews. Anything. Any type of vegetable. She would rig that up… Almost nothing went to waste."[473] Micheline acknowledges that gardens similarly allowed for the large family dinners she remembers as a child. "[M]émère puis pépère… avaient un gros jardin chez… eux. Puis a faisait du cannage. So, là, quand j'pense à ça là, là. Le cout du manger maintenant c'était pas comme ça l'était avant parce que dans c'temps là j'ai aucune idée comment 'c'que y avaient l'argent pour avoir toute la famille à chaque dimanche."[474]

Big gardens, a large variety of vegetables and pickled or preserved goods, are fondly remembered by my participants who were born in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. "[M]ais le gros jardin!" Micheline remembers of going to visit her grandparents on the farm. "[Y] avait des patates, des carrottes, des concombre, des fêves, la rhubbarbe. Comme n'importe quoi, puis une grosse section c'était des patates."[475] "Oui," Carmen states, "Maman avait toujours un jardin. Et puis l'automne elle faisait des relish, du ketchup, du chow chow. Elle avait du blé d'inde, on avait des tomatoes, on avait toute sortes de légumes."[476] Her sister Lucie remembers the same thing: "Faisait des cornichons. Faisait

[473] Cody Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016.
[474] Micheline Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., November 4, 2015.
[475] Micheline Dégagné.
[476] Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., April 28, 2016.

d'la relish. Faisait des gâteaux. Faisait des tartes. Faisait des cipailles. Mais c'est pas vraiment, comme, un repas particulier qui resort. C'est plus la variété puis comment c'était bon puis comment qu'y n'avait toujours."[477] While gardening, canning, and foraging used to mean the difference between eating or being food insecure, today these practices are, more often than not, considered hobbies that help supplement rather than as a means to an end.

The table below demonstrates the shift in my participants' gardening practices over time.

Table 5: Gardening Practices Over Time[478]

	Individuals involved in gardening as children		**Individuals who, as adults, attempted a garden (even if ultimately unsuccessful)**		**Individuals who do/still garden today**	
Born between 1920-1939	4/4	100%	3/4	75%	1/4	25%
Born between 1940-1959	7/7	100%	7/7	100%	4/7	57%
Born between 1960-1969	3/4	75%	75%	75%	0/4	0%
Born between 1970-1979	6/7	86%	6/7	86%	3/7	43%
Born between 1980-1989	13 /16	88%	9/16	69%	9/16	69%
Born between 1990-1999	4/6	67%	2/6	33%	2/6	33%
Born between 2000-present	3/4	75%	n/a	n/a	1/4	25%

Of those born in the first age cohort, three no longer garden simply because of where they now live. Of those born in the second last cohort, it is important to recognise that five of the six were in university at the time of their interview. Most telling are those in between. These are individuals who live in their own homes and who all work, either part-time or full-time, for wages.

Time is a huge barrier for those wanting a big garden. When my mother's cohort were children, their mothers didn't work outside the home. Aline explains that "[m]a mère aidait beaucoup aussi à la ferme mais j'veux dire mon père y sacrifiait pas mal toute son temps à travailler sur la ferme. Quand qu'y

[477] Lucie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.
[478] Percentages in the table are based on the total amount of participants in each age cohort who did the semi-structured interview and who answered these questions about gardening.

r'venait de travailler y fallait qu'y travail sur sa ferme."[479] "[D]ans c'temps là," Micheline explains of her grandparents, "la fille, comme, la mère, restait à la maision. Ça fait que c'est elle qui prennait soins d'ces affaires là. Le jardin. Puis là l'homme allait travailler. Pour la plupart."[480] Today, with both people working outside the home, gardening can be a lot of work. "Puis quand qu'tu travail pendant la journée puis là t'arrive à la maison le soir, t'as pas d'énergie à l'faire."[481] The summer months in Canada are short and the time when people take their holidays. "[W]hen the kids were young we had a big garden," Pat and Stacy explain. "But then we'd leave for a week or more and we'd come back and it would be fried or gone to seed… And we tried planting stuff at the camp. In Temagami. I even got boxes to hang over the railing thinking that, oh well, while we're here I'll water them and hopefully it'll rain and that didn't work out either."[482]

Another barrier to gardening is the natural world itself. Years ago, there were far fewer deer around and people had far more land. Today, Lydia explains, a fence is often necessary because the deer will get into the garden and eat it all up. Pat and Stacy had apple trees "but the bears keep getting at it."[483] Other times, domestic animals such as dogs and cats are the problem because they use the garden as a place to relieve themselves. Micheline explains that bugs are an issue. Natalie shares that, after two years of finding worms in their vegetables, the interest they once had in their garden has dwindled. Gardening is not easy. It takes time and it takes skill. When people are met with failure, especially when they are already busy and since the gardens are not necessary for survival, they tend to fall to the wayside.

[479] Aline Coote.
[480] Micheline Dégagné.
[481] Micheline Dégagné.
[482] Stacy Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[483] Pat and Stacy Dégagné.

For a garden to succeed, a certain amount of trial and error is necessary. Figuring out where to put the garden and then determining which plants will grow best means learning about the land in which they grow – it is about understanding the region, what works well, what doesn't. It means tapping in to the knowledge of our elders and neighbours who have become experts through years of practice and experience. As Sylvie explains, when her father decided to have a garden, "ma grand-mère venait souvent lui montrer quoi faire." After a while he managed on his own but, "[p]our des années…, les deux le faisait ensemble."[484] Jessica shares that her Uncle Alec was this expert person for their family garden. Between Jessica's father and her uncle, they used to have three gardens: "a whole garden of just corn and potatoes and then another garden, ah, mixed vegetables so we would have like tomatoes, carrots, peas, green beans, yellow beans... Radishes."[485] Because he was retired, Alec had time to look after all these gardens and they

> didn't realize how much he did until he passed away and then we were like "Oh my gosh this is so much work!"… So we stopped using those two and we started just using this one. And like I've tried to do it by myself but I couldn't. It was too much work. Like I still got some stuff but like the weeds just [took over] yeah and I just didn't have time… My uncle Alec passed away when [I was] in grade 12. Um. So like before then we always had a really big garden and after that it's sort of been a trial and error every year since. He kind of had a magic touch. We should have learned a little bit more from him I think.[486]

As Jessica's statement demonstrates, gardening is tied to our heritage – to the people who came before us. When those voices and their knowledge disappear, we are left struggling on our own. Today there is no doubt that the Internet and a vast number of gardening books make it easier to learn, but going to

[484] Sylvie Laperièrre, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., September 21, 2016.
[485] Jessica Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., December 6, 2015.
[486] Jessica Perron.

these modern sources means not getting the stories that go with experience. When my grandfather showed me his carrots still buried in the sand at Christmas a few years ago, for example, the demonstration came with the story of how his mother used to do the same thing. When Jessica shared with me her story of storing produce in the basement, I immediately associated it with similar stories my grandfather has shared with me over the years and that he describes in his books.[487]

The table above shows that the largest percentage of gardeners are those with young children at home and/or who are just starting off their adult lives in their own homes. It is possible, therefore, that, like the language, this is a period where individuals perceive themselves setting a foundation for their new families and their lives together. It may be possible, though no one actually said so, that by making a garden, continuing a practice they performed as children, my participants are showing their own kids where they come from and who they are. These life lessons also create pastimes for some children. "[C]ertaines années," Michel tells me, "quand les enfants étaient plus vieux un p'tit peu, on avait semé beaucoup de maïs et puis au lieu d'vendre d'la lemonade, eux autre y vendait du maïs. Alors c'était comme un passe temps pour eux de vendre ça."[488] Lydia shares a similar desire to pass on the educational benefits. For her, gardening is "for my kids. For them to learn about gardening and helping out there and Garrett loves to run out and just eat peas from the garden. Well we all love, it's probably all of our favourite part from the garden. So I think like definitely it's educational and it's fun. We enjoy it."[489] Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx similarly brought her children out into the garden early in their

[487] "Like we have a cold cellar so like carrots and potatoes and like stuff we could always keep down there and they last a really long time. Yeah. It's really nice to have. Like my dad ordered four big bags, I forget, they're like 40 pound bags of potatoes and they keep down there for a year. Like we eat them for a whole year. I have a big thing of turnip and carrots down there too… When my mon uncle was here we kept everything here and we'd just come. Actually it's really creepy down there and he'd be like, 'Go get a bag of potatoes.' And we'd be going down these creeky stairs and we'd be all freeked out. They're like a little wee room in the back."
[488] Michel Perron, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., March 4, 2016.
[489] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016.

childhood so they could not only learn the names of the plants but also so they could understand where their food comes from and the work that goes into producing it.

Families with young children often spend more time at home because the kids nap more and are less active. This may also explain why, in later years, the number of gardeners falls. As the children grow up and get to be busier, gardening goes from being a hobby to a chore and, ultimately, falls to the wayside because there just isn't enough time to do it all. This certainly happened in Rhéaume's family where "[o]n avait un jardin pour une bonne secouse. On a garder le jardin la grandeur qu'elle était [quand mes parents étaient ici]. Ça c'tait trop d'ouvrage ou plus d'ouvrage qu'on voulait. On avait probablement réduit l'jardin d'un tier. Et puis une couple d'années après ça, la moitié. Puis, éventuellement… avec les enfants puis toutes les activités qu'y font aujourd'hui… Souvent le jardin 'tait rendu plein d'mauvais herbes. Donc on a arrêté d'en faire."[490] His son, Patrick confirms this statement: "Oui on avait un jardin. Comme des tomates puis des concombre j'pense. Mais j'pense quand j'ai commencé à jouer au hockey on était pas mal plus occupé comme aller à des tournois puis des affaires l'été. So it kind of dwindled off."[491]

In his interview, David told me that he feels "it's 'in' right now to have a garden. Like communities have community gardens and it's 'in' right now… Hunting's cool and popular and it's like a trend that way to have your own backyard garden and rooftop garden and things like that."[492] While there is some truth to David's statement, Michel made a point that I think is important in connection to the study of culture and identity which may help explain why some people overcome the obstacles to gardening. Michel explains that, back when he was younger, "[t]out l'monde avait des jardins. Même les

[490] Rhéaume Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 27, 2016.
[491] Patrick Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 24, 2016.
[492] David Weiskopf, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.

gens qui étaient pas fermiers avait des grands jardins parc'que c'était coutumier."[493] I think it's the habit, along with the health benefits, the perceived cost benefits, and that feeling of ownership that pushes people to have gardens. The habit of gardening, like the habit of making certain meals, may be passed down from generation to generation because it reminds people of good times they spent with their family members. This seems to be the case for France who shares that her father had a garden when they were kids and now "[n]ous autre les enfants… on a toute des jardins."[494] Like their parents, a number of my participants see gardening as a place to experiment and play. A place to build on what their own parents did. Of her childhood garden, France says, it was "juste tes légumes traditionnels: carrotes, pois, fêves, lettus, patates, tomates, concombres."[495] She likes to think that she is less traditional and grows things her parents would not have. In her interview, Amanda explained that, growing up, their garden varied in size from year to year. Today, now that they have the space for it, her family experiments with a variety of different fruits and vegetables despite living in the city. "Tu vois, on est des jardineux de la ville," she says. "On a pas un gros jardin. On a des plants entremelé avec nos plantes. On a des tomatoes à une certaine place mais dans une autre place on a des citrouilles avec nos fleurs." It is clear that their garden is a source of joy.

> On décort toute le village de Callander avec notre blé d'inde… [and her pumpkin plants] sort[ent] des cèdres et dessendent près du ch'min. Donc y a une année en particulier ou c'qu'on a réussi à les garder en vie et vivace jusqu'à l'automne. Et là à l'Halloween, dans c'temps là on avait des citrouilles qui poussaient, y avait l'ch'min, y avait le gazon et y avait des citrouilles là là. Comme le monde trouvait ça pas mal impressionant.[496]

[493] Michel Perron.
[494] France Carroll, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., November 28, 2015.
[495] France Carroll.
[496] Amanda Beaudry, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.

Thus there is no doubt that as much as gardens supplement, they can also be considered a hobby. Even when he was growing up as a boy, Michel explains, gardening was one of his father's passions rather than his duty. He had encyclopedias and studied the science behind the plants he experimented with: "[Y] avait tout une science derrière ça… Des pommiers… des c'ries à grapes. Des m'rises des choses semblabes mais y avait aussi des arbuste de fruits sauvage comme des bleuet et puis… Elderberries. Des gooseberries… [Y] essayait toute sorte de choses et puis y savait qui avait des variétés qui tennaient d'autre non. Puis y jouait toute sa vie."[497]

Though the idea of eating homegrown fruits and vegetables is important to some of my participants, it's not so much about eating organic, since my participants do not necessarily buy organic food, but about knowing where the food comes from.[498] "I think we do care about the source of the food. But we're not, we'll only eat this,"[499] David shares. "[J]'sais pas si c'est psychologique," Michel tells me, "mais me semble c'qu'on fait pousser c'est meilleur puis. B'en on sait qui a pas d'engrais chimique puis de choses semblables."[500] "I don't know how to explain it," Lydia tells me when speaking of her garden, "but there's just a fresher, taste and you know… it hasn't been[,]...nothing sprayed on it or like any kind of chemicals… I don't know, there's just something in the flavour that's better… For the health of like having fresh and the taste and it's not a money thing because I think it probably ends up being almost as expensive when you're buying all the seeds and different starter plants and stuff but yeah definitely for the health"[501] Lisa shares that for her,

[497] Michel Perron.
[498] Natalie Weiskopf, Pascal Laperrière and Michel Perron all talked about organic foods to say that organic is expensive and that they like the idea but they do not purchase organic food unless the price is comparable to nonorganic food.
[499] David Weiskopf.
[500] Michel Perron.
[501] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.

> j'regarde le développement des jeunes, t'sais j'ai travaillé en milieu d'santé mentale,… avec des enfants avec des besoins spéciaux, en milieu scolaire. Puis tu vois la puberté comment c'est plus vite chez les filles. Moi j'me dis, ça là à faire avec la nourriture. Comme y on fait tellement de production massive avec des hormones et tout que c'est certain. Puis les préservatifs dans les nourritures… Ces choses là qu'on avait pas… quand on était jeune parc'qu'on avait des jardins ou on chassait notre viande. J'certaine que ça l'a un impacte. Puis j'pense toujours à Magali astère. J'aimerai… savoir d'où vient sa viande. D'où vient sa nourriture.[502]

Some of my participants who cannot grow their own gardens have turned to farmers' markets for their produce. This allows them to get food they can associate with an actual farmer, someone they may even know.

Gardens and farmers' markets also give my participants access to the produce they need to make the traditional foods they love. "Moi j'aime toujours à l'automne aller au marcher chercher les légumes d'automne comme les patates, les carrottes puis faire un stew. Mom à l'aime des tartes au citrouilles. Alors oui on fait la tarte aux citrouilles," Lisa shares. "L'automne j'toujours… y faut j'va chercher des patates. Quand tu commences à voir ça au marché, un bon stew s'rait bon. Puis des salades. J'aime faire des salades… Mom aime pas du kale tant qu'ça. Du chou frisé. Mais j'aime des salades au chou frisé. Des bettraves."[503] For Nathalie its "le printemps plus. Les asperges. Les salades. Toutes les p'tites affaires."[504]

For those interested in canning and preserving, the smaller gardens of today do not necessarily yield enough. Markets and Pick-Your-Own-Produce fields, where Nathalie gets her cucumbers and others

[502] Lisa Loeffen, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.
[503] Lisa Loeffen.
[504] Lisa Loeffen and Nathalie Boucher, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.

get their berries, mean individuals will make their own preserves and canned goods. “Like normally my dad grows tons and tons and tons of tomatoes. And then we can them all… We mash them. Take the skins off,” Jessica tells me. Yet with a lot going on during the past year, she explains that “this year we had to buy tomatoes because we didn’t grow enough… But we still did a bunch of canning and we make pickles… 30 or 40 jars of tomatoes. And then um my aunt and I did 48 jars of pickles and then we split them so I have 24 jars and she has 24 jars.”[505]

While homegrown gardens can be replaced by farmers’ markets, some items, like wild berries, cannot. Laurette Dégagné explains that they used to spend hours as children picking strawberries. Wild strawberries grow in fields before the hay gets too high. Raspberries grow on the edges of these fields. Today, however, there are fewer fields, especially ones that are being cultivated, and they are generally private property. Thus these fruit are not as easy to find. This means that for the newest generation, children like Eve, the memory of picking berries is not of roaming through a field or in the bush but of going to a commercial farm. Gardens and foraging sites, I argue, are part of the collective consciousness. They are links to real places that span years and years of time. The haunts of childhood, where the berries grew thickest for example, are physical ties to who we are and where we’ve been. They allow us to share stories about how we spent our time, and who we spent it with. The places themselves become permanent fixtures in our minds and we share these with the next generation so that the landscape becomes encoded with the stories of the past. There is no doubt, as discussed in Chapter 3, that these associations stem primarily from the fact that they come from “the French side” of the family. Yet it is here, as with the family celebrations, that part of our identity with the culture is shaped.

Seeing how the past influences the present does help us see that when my participants decide to garden and when they express that they value homegrown food, they speak from within a traditional

[505] Jessica Perron.

that has been passed down to them. [506] The produce to make these traditional foods can, after all, be purchased at the grocery store even if it has been shipped from all over the world. The stories associated with these foods will also continue as long as the foods are being made. However, over time, the connection to the land will be lost and the place will return to a more neutral space. By working the land, one reaffirms ties to the past. "J'pense qu'on est entrain," France tells me when talking about the garden she's growing and the chickens she's raising, "we're living his dream. Honnêtement. Moi j'pense que mon père aurait toujours aimé, comme, un p'tit hobby farm, mais y était camioneur."[507] For her the connection is real.

4.2.3. Recipes: Bouilli aux fêves, Poutine à framboise, Chow Chow

What we do with the produce we grow, buy, and/or forage also allows us to tap into our past. Chapter 5 will discuss the kitchen as a key site for the creation of cultural continuity and will discuss how knowledge and skill of traditional recipes are important tools for the production and transmission of culture. Here I would like to build specifically on the discussion of gardening and foraging by looking at the recipes that are made with these ingredients. It is true that there are many good recipes online and that people experiment with the vegetables they grow in their gardens all the time. Experimentation is only natural and the modern world has given us access to a variety of new fruits and vegetables as well as spices to improve more basic recipes. In this section though I want to look at three foods that my participants consider traditional and show how their ingredients connect individuals to our rural past and to the larger cultural group.

[506] Some may argue that gardening and rural living does not constitute an exclusively French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian reality. Lisa Loeffen, for example, shares that many of the items in their garden were there because of her Dutch father. Stacy Dégagné similarly shares that her family, which is of Irish descent, had a "huge" garden. What is significant, however, is that these traditions and habits are tied to the foods my participants consider representative of their cultural selves.

[507] France Carroll.

One traditional food that is directly linked to the growing season is bouilli aux fêves – a recipe that has been handed down in a few families and that, according to Stacy, is like a cipaille with vegetables. For Michel, it is a recipe that comes from mémère Guillemette and is something his father usually made in the spring, "quand les p'tites fêves sortaient. Ordinairement, en même temps, y avait des p'tites patates nouvelles. Tu v'nais à bout d'arracher quelques p'tites carottes et tu mettais un morceau d'lard salé… puis tu faisais bouillir ça… C'était pour célébrer l'arrivé… des nouvelles récoltes, si tu veux, dans l'jardin. Puis quand on mangeait ça c'était comme exceptionnel!"[508] Aline Coote explains that "[m]a mère à faisait ça… tu l'fais dans le temps d'l'été. Le temps quand toutes les légumes sont à leurs meilleurs là puis…, quand t'as un jardin, tu vas chercher des carottes du jardin. Des fêves jaunes. Du jardin. Ton cottage roll puis des p'tites carottes. Des p'tites patates. Puis là tu fais bouillir ton cottage roll."[509] Pat Dégagné shares that this it is a recipe that comes from the Cantins: "you put ground beef and this cottage roll in there and then you cook it with the beans and potatoes and carrots and cabbage."[510] "I also remember from our garden," Cole says, "we used to always have bean hunts. Cause we had bushes of beans. And I remember we'd each have a pot and whoever could fill their pot up the fastest didn't have to help wash them."[511] Stacy would then use these beans to make bouili aux fêves.

The fact that these three different individuals from three different founding families make this same meal in much the same way supports what Pat said in Chapter 3 when he mentioned that Astorville's descendants have similar foodways. Here we can see that these shared foodways are tied to a common, agricultural and Quebecois past. Also significant are the stories that go with the food. Cole, for example, remembers the game Stacy made up to make picking beans fun. Aline remembers that just before her brother Louis passed away, her mother had made a bean stew. He had gone to visit and Aline

[508] Michel Perron.
[509] Aline Coote.
[510] Pat Dégagné.
[511] Cole Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.

remembers her mother telling her "qu'il avait beaucoup, beaucoup mangé."[512] This particular stew was remarkable partly because he ate so much of it despite being ill, but also because her mother had made it later in the summer than usual. In this story of bouili aux fêves one sees that it is an example of comfort food. This is a food that nourishes the spirit, both in the moment Louis ate it, but also in the present when Aline remembers how it comforted him at a time when he needed strength. Thus, even when one doesn't have a garden themselves, as in Aline's case, or they make bouili aux fêves out of season, the ingredients that make up the meal are those basic, traditional vegetables my participants mentioned above and they are tied to specific places and people.

Like bouili aux fêves, poutine à framboise is a dessert that connects individuals with a specific ingredient. Essentially, poutine à framboise is a white cake with raspberries at the bottom. Jessica made one for her second interview. She chose this traditional food, on one hand, because of the family connection – it is her grandma Groulx's recipe and a recipe she learnt from her father. Though she never baked with her grandmother, she has a number of her recipes in her cookbook and these allow her to connect with her though she's not around anymore. Her father's stories of his mother making the cake as a reward for picking the berries also shows how the cake has a history of being a specialty item. "[W]hen we were kids, that was like a treat," Jessica explains. It "wasn't really made for everyday dessert. Like it was more for a special occasion… It was like a birthday cake… Because when you pick your own raspberries, they're like gold right?"[513] When people purchase berries from the grocery store, they do not have to work for the produce. Picking berries takes a lot of time and is often done during the hottest part of the summer. As a reward for this hard work, recipes like poutine à framboise have added meaning and value. Jessica, for example, remembers stories her father told her of being dropped off as a boy when his parents went to work. He and his siblings would pick berries all day and then his parents

[512] Aline Coote.
[513] Jessica Perron.

would pick them up on their way home. When she makes this cake, Jessica is reminded of these moments she never experienced and connects them with her own memories of picking berries with family members. She is also reminded of those moments when they ate this cake for birthdays and other special events. While it is certainly possible to purchase fresh and frozen berries in grocery stores, Jessica's memories are an example of the mnemonic associations that exist between the ingredients and the food. These associations disappear when one does not go out and literally venture into the places where berries go.

Lydia made chow chow; our maternal grandmother's green tomato relish. She picked this recipe for two reasons: because she "didn't get around to making it last year… and really missed it" and because "[t]his time of year [August] feels like fall.. and [she] actually knew people with green tomatoes."[514] In fact, Lydia was able to rely almost exclusively on fresh produce from people's gardens for her ingredients. Though it is not a recipe she makes every year, and is a dish other members of the family, with the exception of my aunt Pauline and her husband Ronald, do not make, she had picked this food because it is a taste she associates with tradition.

Making preserves like chow chow has a long history and, as Lydia mentions above, is an autumn tradition. Historically, in some families, like Yvonne Buckner's and Bernard Rochefort's it seems that women performed this task alone. "Le cannage, ça, y fallait que j'les faise moi même," Yvonne says. "du ketchup puis… ketchup vert, d'la confiture. Toute c'qu'on peut faire on le faisait… à l'automne."[515] In some homes in more recent years, this task has become a way to get people together. As Jessica explains, she and her aunt work together to use the goods they have grown, picked or purchased and then split the final product. The smell of vinegar is one Cody associates with similar work bees. "[I]t was a

[514] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.
[515] Yvonne Buckner.

real family get together. Usually with my mémère… My grandmother. Both of them. It was fun," Cody remembers. "The house smelled like vinegar... Vinegar. Vinegar… You wake up and you smell like vinegar… That was common. My aunt and uncle used to come down from Kirkland Lake... Vinegar filled house with everything."[516]

There is no doubt that "[i]t's time consuming," Natasha explains. "[B]y the time you get your beets ready, there's a mess and you gotta make sure you don't stain everything right." But the process of canning is comforting and fun. "So there is a little bit of prep work," she continues. "But I mean. I used to just do it. I put the country station on the TV and pour a glass of wine and just spend my day in the kitchen. But I like spending my time there. Whereas my best friend wouldn't spend time in the kitchen if she didn't have to be in there at all."[517] For those who enjoy the process, the act itself is satisfying. Having your own food at the end, food you followed from start to finish, is also important.

Given that these are generally big recipes, some of my participants explained that there is an added sense of community that results from these foods when, afterwards, they share them with friends and family. Gifting these food, like sharing the recipes, connected individuals. When one eats the foods that has been gifted, one is reminded of the person who made it. That these foods were considered both "good" enough to gift and because they were appreciated by the person who received them, these foods serve as examples of my participants creating a discourse of "good" food. Michel remembers this of his childhood "y en donnait. Y en donnait tout l'temps. Chaque fois qu'quelqu'un v'nait y donnait ça. C'était un peu son, je sais pas, son p'tit cadeau particulier là."[518] Micheline also remembers her grandparents gifting these goods and "maintenant moi je continue la tradition. Ça fait que moi je fais du corn relish,

[516] Cody Tran.
[517] Natasha Krauss, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2016.
[518] Michel Perron.

des pickled beets. J'fais des carottes. J'fais d'la jam… j'en fais puis maintenant je continue la tradition où c'que j'en donne un, du cannage à chaque famille. So oui, j'aime ça faire ça."[519]

When one makes relish, one is reminded of the women who used to make it in the fall to use up the vegetables in their gardens. Indeed, as Lydia and I made the chow chow recipe, we marveled at how much harder these women, who did not have electricity, a Kitchen Aid chopper, or running water, would have worked. Lydia's interview spanned two days because the vegetables needed to stand overnight. By the time the relish had been prepared and jarred, most of the second day had passed. Since the goal in the 1930s and 1940s was to produce as little waste as possible, these foods demonstrate how recipes are a product of social circumstances.

Continuing this traditional recipe, like making bouili aux fêves and poutine à framboise, is keeping tradition alive. Going out to pick the produce and using it is a process far different from going to the grocery store to buy the ingredients. Through gardening and foraging, people must work with the landscape; they shape it both physically and metaphorically. When they bring the product of their labour into the home, the tastes and smells associated with those foods create another and equally important mnemonic association to a specific place. These associations between people, place, smells, and foods are burned into the memories of those who eat the foods and, as long as these are positive associations we have seen, these moments create expectations and ideas that individuals will seek to recreate.

I realise that, today, relying solely on gardens to produce all of our vegetables is, of course, not realistic and I am not suggesting that any of my participants do. Rather, this section has tried to demonstrate that gardening and foraging are linked to the recipes we consider traditional and that this association between land and table is a direct result of our heritage. These recipes continue, in part,

[519] Micheline Dégagné.

because our gardens are producing the ingredients to make these foods. Also, these ingredients are familiar and natural to us so we are attracted to them when we purchase vegetables at the market or in the grocery store.

4.3. Livestock and Harvesting of Animals

As mentioned above, the family farm also used to produce the meat needed to feed a large family. “On ach’tait jamais de viande. Jamais, jamais,” Bernard remembers. “On avait à peu près dix vaches puis… quand qu’y avait les veaux le printemps… on les enl’vaient après les vaches puis on les soignait. On tirait les vaches puis on passait ça au séparateur pour avoir la crème puis on vendait la crème.”[520] Like many other farmers in the area, Bernard’s family sold meat at the Farmers’ Market in North Bay. Because they didn’t have refrigerators, farmers only slaughtered their animals when the meat would be used. In the winter months, it could be stored in grain to keep it from spoiling and then, in the spring, leftover meat would be canned.

In this era, nothing was wasted. Because these were large families and there was little to go around, “tu gaspillais pas d’la nourriture.”[521] Thus an important point when considering food is the by-product. Blood sausage and head cheese used up left over parts of a butchered animal so there would be no waste. Blood sausage and head cheese, two food items that people associate with this period, are both high in the protein and fats farmers needed. My interviews with certain of my participants confirmed what I had also discovered during my MA project: that some of the foods that were once staple, are now considered traditional because they have a nostalgic element. Blood sausage and head cheese, for some, are associated with their childhood, with the sense of home, with their families. When butchered, pigs were quartered and divided into sections. Their blood was then boiled and seasoned until thick enough to put into the casings that had been made from the pigs’ intestines. When my

[520] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[521] Lisa Loeffen.

grandmother was alive, she shared stories with me about these sausages then being sliced and fried in butter. Liver, Yvette Loeffen remembers, was also a treat. People also ate tongue and the pigs' feet were used to make ragout. Other parts were used to make sausages and creton. These recipes are important examples of the economic pragmatism that shaped the culture's early foodways.

Today, however, tongue, pig's feet, blood sausage, and head cheese, are no longer commonly consumed. One reason for this is that some, as mentioned in Chapter 3, consider these pork-based and meat-based meals too rich for modern human consumption. This means that our lifestyle has changed enough that such rich foods are neither necessary nor privileged. Another obvious reason is that people no longer live on farms so they do not have easy access to, or need to use up, pigs' blood, feet, or heads. In fact, while raising animals was necessary in Yvonne's, Bernard's, and Rhéal's childhoods, raising animals is not part of the childhood most of my participants remember. Only André and Cody remember having animals as a boy. Others, like Aline, remember visiting a grandparents' farm but they did not have their own livestock. Michel is the only one who raised his own cows as an adult. Even Micheline, who went to her grandparents' farm every Sunday, reports that there were no animals there that she can remember. This shift in lifestyle stems from the need to work outside the home. André explains that "ça beaucoup changer, t'sais. Quand j'étais jeune on avait une ferme. B'en ça prenait beaucoup d'temps. Ma mère aidait beaucoup aussi à la ferme mais j'veux dire mon père y sacrifiait pas mal toute son temps à à travailler sur la ferme. Quand qu'y r'venait de travailler y fallait qu'y travail sur sa ferme."[522] For most, then, farming was too much work to be logical.

Today, we can generally buy these pork by-products rather than make them ourselves. This does not mean, however, that such alternatives are good substitutes. At the time of their interview for my MA project, my grandparents told me that they had stopped buying these food items because they taste

[522] André Laperièrre, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 12, 2016.

nothing like the ones they remember eating as kids. During his interview for my PhD, my grandfather told me that now, five years later, he has a hard time finding some of these items in the grocery store. That this particular traditional food is difficult to find means that it no longer has a market. People are not interested in it anymore. Because this food has not evolved, there is no possibility of continuity. Unless interest in it is revitalised, as in Danny's examples of ox-tail and pig's snout, it is very conceivable that it will be relegated forever to our idea of the past. Its association with an idealised, rural past will continue to be a means through which we learn of our of French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian history but it will also serve as a contrast to our modern lives.

In my grandparents' childhood, these recipes represented a survival strategy. They were recipes designed to feed hungry, physically active people. These foods also represent a mentality and worldview that did not allow for, and that couldn't support waste. In today's fast-paced society, and given the availability of such meat products in our grocery stores, there is no need for the average human to undertake the labour-intensive and time-consuming work needed to produce foods like blood sausage, creton, head cheese. Thus not only do very few people raise and slaughter their own pigs today, but they are also affluent enough not to care about throwing food out so do not spend time worrying about the waste that goes on in the grocery stores and factories. In letting go of these traditional methods and customs, we have accepted to live by modern ways that rely on consumerism and industrialisation.

There is also an important psychological issue with these foods. While many of the people who grew up with them remember them fondly, others do not, citing their intense smell and the taste as being more than they could handle. The idea of the food, in other words the fat content and the animal parts used to make them have also contributed to making them unappetizing. Indeed, even in their descriptions of how good these foods are, both Rhéal and Aline highlight these psychological tensions that exist for people today. Rhéal, for example, shares that a few years ago, his brother decided to make

ragout with pigs' feet at the camp for dinner. This, it appears, did not go over well. "Si t'aurais dit un ragout d'boulettes t'aurai été correcte," Rhéal explains. He has adapted his own ragout recipe to account for this issue. "Alors moi quand j'fais un ragout d'boullette maintenant, j'prends un p'tit rôti d'lard pas des pattes de cochon… Même gout. Même chose. Mais t'as pas l'concept de pattes de cochon. Pourtant c'est pas sal. C'est juste, psychologique."[523] When he gave me some of his creton to take home, he similarly insisted on the fact that "y est maigre. J'en ai faite avec du hamburge de chevreuil. Du hamburge d'orignale."[524] Aline salivates as she describes the boudin of her youth: "Gravel livrait le boudin au magasin chez nous … puis quand qu'y l'am'nait au magasin y était encore tiède puis y v'nait juste de l'faire… Y a beaucoup d'épices dedans. Du cinnamon, du clove, comme c'est. Puis du sel… If you can get past the idea of what it is. Ça fait que nous autre on s'dépéchait pour aller dans l'boucherie puis on s'en prenait un p'tit morceau là puis. Oh my gosh! I'd die for that!"[525] The fact that these meals are not common gives them a special significance that is important to consider when looking at modern, traditional fare as they say a lot about today's culture. It means that, in general, we do not have a positive association with these foods. This suggests that, with time, they will likely disappear from our culinary repertoire.

Interestingly, and maybe a sign of some hope for these foods, is that they are now being featured in high end restaurants. Through the juxtaposition of "French" themed food articles in scholarly journals such as *CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Studies / Le journal des études sur l'alimentation au Canada* and popular cookbooks such as *The Art of French Cooking* one sees a clear distinction between French *cuisine* and French-Canadian foods. While the former is associated with terroir[526], fine

[523] Rhéal Perron.
[524] Rhéal Perron.
[525] Aline Coote.
[526] Terroir refers to "the conditions in which a food is grown or produced and that give the food its unique characteristics." "terroir, n." *Dictionary.com* accessed 15 August 2017. http://dictionary.com/browse/terroir

dining, and Julia Childs, the latter connotes folk, country, and grandmothers. Currently, I feel that these pork by-products live mostly in the realm of folklore. They were foods people made because they had no choice. They feed the narrative we have of the past as a time of struggle and hardship. They are consequently dismissed because they are associated with a past that is too foreign. People can grow gardens. But they do not raise pigs. More and more, however, these foods are falling into the category of haute-cuisine. "Take a typical example like ox-tail," Danny explains, speaking of the reality in the Caribbean.

> It's poor man's food essentially. It's no different than eating a pig's snout. Right but now it has gotten so popular… in big restaurants and stuff. Now ox-tail, the price you pay, probably more expensive than a T-bone steak. If you look at it on a per-pound basis for sure. So a lot of those foods because of… how people have made them sort of mainstream and popular in terms of the versatility in terms of preparations and stuff, you now find a lot of big restaurants making those dishes and stuff and for one it has driven up the prices... Now the average person in the Caribbean probably cannot afford to eat oxtail anymore. Because it's just so expensive.[527]

In their introduction to *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato take issue with the fact that "[f]ood representations have historically been understood as mere barometers of cultural sensibilities: instead, [they] contend that these representations actively *produce* cultural sensibilities and the possibility of transgression... [they] are concerned that past scholarship on the culture industries has focused almost exclusively on the ways in which ordinary people are manipulated into adopting specific ideologies through pleasurable means."[528] The essays in their anthology demonstrate that "food and foodways, when closely examined, illuminate both the

[527] Danny Harris, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 17, 2016.
[528] Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, "Introduction," *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, Edited by Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato (Albany, University of New York Press, 2008), 2.

repressive power and the productive potential of representation."[529] This is exactly what they do in their article "Julia Child, Martha Stewart, and Rise of Culinary Capital" where they analyse popular figures Julia Child and Martha Stewart to argue

> not only that food and food practices provide appropriate metaphors for the relationship between culture and the individuals who comprise it, but also that they play a significant role in mediating that relationship, whether by promoting dominant ideologies to which the individual is expected to conform or by providing the individual with a venue for resisting or transgressing such expectations… [they are] concerned specifically with the cultural value and ideological function of food and food practices insofar as they help to sustain class hierarchies by promoting the illusion of class mobility.[530]

Accepting dominant food ideologies, LeBesco and Naccarato contend, is essentially to allow one's self to be programmed by the ideas of the majority – it is to use material objects and food to signal that one belongs to a perceived higher economic class or to the cultural majority. Given their newfound, haute-cuisine status, these pork by-products may yet survive. The question that is raised, however, is who will eat them? Will it be the average Canadian who will revive them due to an interest in the past or will it be the upper echelons of society who will pay to have them made for them so they can tap into mainstream culture rather than their more humble roots?

One final example of shifting food realities that is worth mentioning is the case of bones. Not even the bones were wasted when they were children, Yvette and Aline tell me. In fact, Aline remembers that at the store, they gave the bones away for free because there were so many of them. "Comme quand

[529] LeBesco and Naccarato, "Introduction," 2.
[530] Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, "Julia Child, Martha Stewart, and Rise of Culinary Capital," *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food & Meaning*, Edited by Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato (Albany, University of New York Press, 2008), 222.

qu'mon père avait le magasin, j'me souviens la viande venait des cartiers," Aline explains. "Des quartiers d'bœuf, t'sais comme… toute les pattes puis tout ça… Maint'nant quand qu'y reçoivent la viande. It's boxed meat. Ça fait que la viande est toute désossée. C'est pour ça qu'tu paies pour les, t'as-tu déjà ach'té des soupe bones? Tu paies cher pour des soup bones, hein? Quand qu'nous autre, mon père avait l'magasin là, on donnait des soup bones. Parc'que la viande v'nait avec toute les os."[531] Bones were used to make soup, another important traditional food, according to my participants. Many shared fond memories of making soup with aunts and of eating soup regularly.

In the past, it is clear, it was important to know how to use all the parts of the animal. Not only did this mean that people had to know the various parts of the animal well, but this also meant that people had to find ways to cook tougher cuts of meat. Recipes that call for the long, slow cooking of simple ingredients may be one way that tough pieces of meat were made palatable. "[L]ike the cipaille and the meat pie, they're sort of basic, workers' style food… There's nothing fancy about them," Danny shares while speculating about how these foods have come to represent French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture. "Like it's made with like earthy ingredients like beans. Probably like a bit of salt and meat. And you have lesser cuts of meat like pork… It's cooked for a long period of time so probably thinking Canada, 1850, your big open fire and your big cipaille left overnight… Like famine used to be big in Canada. Especially some parts… the smaller French communities so thinking beans was probably a big part of the diet as well."[532] Danny's impressions of early foodways as being inexpensive and simple were also voiced by other participants. With stews, tourtière, and cipaille, Lucie explains, "tu peux, t'sais, remplir plus de bouches. Avec un peu plus économique. Mais ça satisfait quand même le monde."[533] "[C]'est pas super fancy," Pascal says. "J'pense quand même que c'est une culture qui, qui vient des gens

[531] Aline Coote.
[532] Danny Harris.
[533] Lucie Laperrière.

qui étaient pauvres, I guess. Comme y vivaient dans campagne, y avait pas grand-chose… Y faisait c'qui pouvaient avec ce qui avaient… Mais c'était BON. Comme y faisait pas n'importe quoi."[534]

In "Adopting and Adapting: The Migrating Recipe," Marina de Camargo Heck states that "culinary habits mark a strong resistance to a complete acculturation."[535] Though there are few large-scale farms in the area and while none of my participants care to raise pigs, many of them reported caring not only about the source of their meat but also wanting to do as much as they could themselves to avoid grocery store meat. Just as many garden because they want to know where their food is coming from, a number of my participants told me that they don't trust the meat they can buy at the grocery store. "It's so pumped full of hormones and antibiotics," Natasha explains. Having married a farmer who has shared with her "the actual farming aspect of what goes into meats and by law what has to and what can't and that sort of stuff," she is aware that "when on TV it says no hormones or no added whatever, as long as… the animal has been 30 days without those things in the food, they can legally say that it has no hormones or… antibiotics… in it but the rest of its whole entirety of its life it's had it."[536] This distrust has even altered the purchasing habits of some. "Tu vois moi j'fais rarement des rôtis d'bœuf parc'que j'trouve c'est difficile trouver un bon morceau d'viande," Aline tells me. "Puis moi j'convaincu que maint'nant les magasins d'grocerie y vendent pas… la même sorte de viande."[537] There is indeed a difference between farm fresh meat and what one can buy at the grocery store that people who have bought from a local farmer can attest to. When Will and I split on half a cow with some friends, for example, I was shocked at how different the meat was. It had a very blue colour, it was really bloody, and my body processed it very differently. The fact that my expectation did not match the meat we

[534] Pascal Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., July 11, 2016.
[535] Marina de Camargo Heck, "Adopting and Adapting: The Migrating Recipe," *The Recipe Reader*, Edited by Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 207.
[536] Natasha Krauss.
[537] Aline Coote.

received is partly "because of your idea of what beef should taste like based on the mass production of what you buy in a store," Natasha explains. "The taste difference is so different. And the colour of the meat is different."[538]

For some, this resistance to factory farming and grocery store practices has translated into wanting to build "a little mini farm… We talked about it. We talked about getting chickens and because we have the swamp there we could get ducks… And we talked about getting some sheep."[539] For others it has meant getting chickens so they can have fresh eggs. Starting up a small farm, even if it's just chickens, however, is not as easy as building a garden. My participants, for example Lydia, Leantha, and Jean-Pierre shared that the start-up cost and the work to build and then maintain a chicken coop was more than they could commit to at this point in their lives. "I would love to have our own chickens," Natasha shares. "But by the time you get your chickens and you raise your chickens… [it's] super time consuming and expensive to do. Because your chickens aren't gonna get as big as fast. Cause you're not pumping them full of growth hormones."[540] Furthermore, though many like the idea of having chickens for eggs, many are unwilling to kill them when it comes time to harvest the meat. Since farming isn't an option some, like David, Laure, Nathalie, and Lisa, have made a point of buying locally raised meat.

Rather than farming, many of my participants see hunting as a way to procure healthy meat. Though hunting is primarily a hobby, it is absolutely an alternative to buying the meat that is sold at the grocery story. "[P]robably like 98% of the time we have venison or moose meat and that's what we eat. We'll replace that a couple times a week we'll have chicken, turkey or pork. But for the most part it's moose or venison."[541] "[Y]ou know, people talk about eating organic," Stacy says about hunting. "It's

[538] Natasha Krauss.
[539] Natasha Krauss.
[540] Natasha Krauss.
[541] Natasha Krauss.

organic," Cole confirms.[542] "I don't like fatty and greasy stuff at all… Even a steak, when I had the like marbling in it, and it grosses me right out… Well even some stuff makes me sick. Like my digestive system just doesn't handle it," Jessica shares. "So deer doesn't really have that… So I love deer. It's perfect for me… Or like moose is my favourite cause there's no fat in moose… I'm just like I'm used to it I guess. I don't know… Like even when we buy meat we try to, if it's not wild meat, we try to buy local as much as we can. Like eggs. I hate buying eggs at the store. Hate it. So used to fresh eggs."[543]

Like gardening, hunting allows people to see the meat through from living organism to the plate. "Yeah we prefer to go get it ourselves. Instead of buying it from a store and going through all the chemicals and stuff that could be in it. Like when you eat, I know chicken's probably bigger than partridge but like the breasts on a chicken are bigger than what they normally should be, right. Like there's some sort of chemicals going in them. [With partridge,] you're just getting what you got when you get it yourself."[544] "And then we butcher our own meat," Stacy adds. "Which, again, a lot of people would be 'Oh! That's a lot of work.' And it is a lot of work. But there's lots of hands and again we make it fun. You know the, someone is running the ground meat machine and they bring it over and we're inside packaging it and labelling it."[545] With hunting, like gardening or farming, people are connected to the meat they are eating because it is associated with real people. "I think it's a bonus when a family member does" hunt, Laure explains. "Like it's quite special when you say you're eating the deer that your father got."[546]

Hunting was a source of revenue for Astorville's early settlers with many trapping to sell the fur or guiding as part of the tourism industry. "[A]t that time," Bernard writes about his father's generation,

[542] Stacy and Cole Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[543] Jessica Perron.
[544] Hailly Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[545] Stacy Dégagné.
[546] Laure Larocque, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.

"many people needed those fish, game, partridges, and ducks to survive."[547] Food was so scarce in fact, that one time, "y était v'nu un orignal quand que y avait un funérailles… Le cimetière dans c'temps-là y était… dans côte où c'qu'est Loeffen à peu près là... Just derrière là y avait l'cimetière puis y am'nait le cercueil… puis y ont vu c't'orignal là sur le lac… Y ont mis l'cercueil à terre puis y ont toutes courus au lac… puis y ont été tuer l'orignal sur l'lac. Y se sont partagés la viande."[548]

Hunting was still an important means to an end for some people growing up in the 1960s and 1970s. "On chassait… On pêchait l'poison du lac," Lisa remembers. "C'tait rare, comme si mom allait au magasin puis à r'venait avec du bœuf, c'était comme, d'la visite qui vient! Parc'que si non c'était d'la viande haché d'orignal ou de chevreuils."[549] Nathalie shares a similar reality when she says: "nous autre aussi… du bœuf c'était une treat. Um c'était de l'orignal. Du chevreuil. Du poisson. Pas mal. Comme nous autre aussi on avait deux gros congélateurs."[550] Even today, hunting is a way for people to save money. "On mange beaucoup, beaucoup de perdrix puis des choses comme du lièvre puis du chevreuil à c'temps ici d'l'année. Ça nous sauve beaucoup d'argent. Puis moi et mon mari on aime beaucoup faire la chasse… So vraiment on fait un chevreuil par année. Ça remplis le freezer. Puis ensuite c'est ça qu'on mange toute l'hiver longue. So au lieu comme du bœuf, je me sert du chevreuil. Puis ça sauve beaucoup d'argent."[551]

My participants share that hunting is a way to spend time together. Aline, for example, remembers that "[à] l'automne on allait à la chasse. Toutes les dimanches on allait… puis quand qu'on arrivait dans l'bois mon père ouvrait la tailgate puis tout l'monde s'assisait… j'me souviens ma mère qu'à faisait du, du fried chicken. C'était spéciale!... puis elle am'nait ça quand qu'on allait à la chasse. Ou à la pêche. Ou a faisait des spare ribs. Des vraiment bonnes spare ribs. Puis on mangeait ça froid dans

[547] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, 44.
[548] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[549] Lisa Loeffen.
[550] Nathalie Boucher.
[551] France Carroll.

l'bois."[552] Natasha has been hunting with her father since she was ten, so for almost eighteen years. Jessica will go out with her father and husband to sit on the watch.

In these families, hunting is similar to the practice of gardening. It is a yearly habit that is passed on from one generation to the next. "[B]oth sides of my family were all big hunters," Pat explains. "They all had hunt camps. They all went out. I grew up on the same stuff."[553] These habits and traditions have been passed on to Pat and Stacy's children. "It's quality time," Haily explains.

> The year I got my licence I couldn't hunt by myself and my mémère that year quit hunting cause she couldn't with her eyes so her and I were buddies and we'd sit in the shack. Even though we couldn't talk we could still whisper a little bit… Like I remember when I got my first partridge, I got it with my pepère. He took me out. And we went and walked the trails and he helped me get my first partridge and then he showed me how to clean it.[554]

This sense of intergenerational teaching and sharing of knowledge was very evident in Paul-Marie Girard's interview when he described at length a fishing trip he had recently taken with his grandson. His happiness at getting him out in the boat and the pride he shared when he helped him catch his first fish was moving.

Like the recipes that have been handed down for using vegetables, like bouili aux fêves, poutine à framboise, and chow chow, there are certain recipes that are associated with hunting that are tied to Astorville's rural past. In his interview, Pat described at length gigot, a recipe I had never heard of but have since found in the Lorraine Boisvenue's *Guide de la nourriture traditionnelle québecoise*.

[552] Aline Coote.
[553] Pat Dégagné.
[554] Hailly Dégagné.

> We have like tradition foods for hunting… So generally we'll try to leave the does and stuff go for next year's harvest but we, every year, we take a small deer and my mom literally cooks it at the camp and we eat that for two days almost. And it's awesome but we only do it at the hunt camp… So… you harvest the front shoulder off of the deer, which is actually a really tough cut of meat. But what she does is she puts it in a pot and just lets it sit on the stove. At a really low temperature. Like she'll either do it in an oven or on a woodstove if the woodstove's going… And she just lets it cook up for the whole day. And by the end of the day it literally falls off the bone… And that's something my mom came up with… I think she said that mémère Cantin used to do that with the pork leg, when they slaughtered the pork or the pigs… And really the meat that you're eating was typically ground... So tough that the only other thing you could do with it is grind it up. So it's kind of a neat thing. Yeah. And those kinds of things, like goose and duck… And it's an animal that if you don't know how to cook it, it's terrible. So again that's all stuff. Like my mom was, I think my mom was probably the best. My grandmother on my dad's side, they weren't as big into the fowl and ducks and that kind of stuff. So my mom probably figured that out with my grandmother cause they used to do that on the farm. They cooked geese and ducks and stuff cause they had the farm. So when we'd go out to Port Loring or whatever my dad would cook,… basically slabs and fry it. Where my mother will do a big pot in the oven and she'll do ducks and geese and it's REALLY good. And it's stuff she got from my grandmother. It's the way my grandmother used to cook hers.[555]

Here too, then knowledge of the animal and the cuts of meat mean that some are more likely to keep making these foods while others will not bother. It's true that "when it comes to venison, there's a lot of it that has like, it's called taol. And it's like the fat on the meat but it doesn't disintegrate and it doesn't

[555] Pat Dégagné.

melt down the same way that fat would so when you're eating it it leaves this, this coating in your mouth and it's not very pleasant."[556] Because of that, many people will simply grind their wild meat. As Eric explains, grinding this tougher meat is a practical solution since ground meat can be used in countless ways: "I grind all mine. Grind it or I'll do jerky and then I'll make sausage so… it's not straight venison except for the tenderloins or back strap. That I'll just fry up and cook it. But yeah I don't do a deer roast… I'd rather just grind it up cause then I put it in my spaghettis and chilies and stuff like that. And I guarantee it doesn't go to waste."[557] There are also tools, like the slow cooker, that allow tougher, less conventional cuts of meat to fit with our modern reality. "[B]asically I learnt that with deer, I always cook it in a slow cooker now. Because it's tough," Jessica explains.[558]

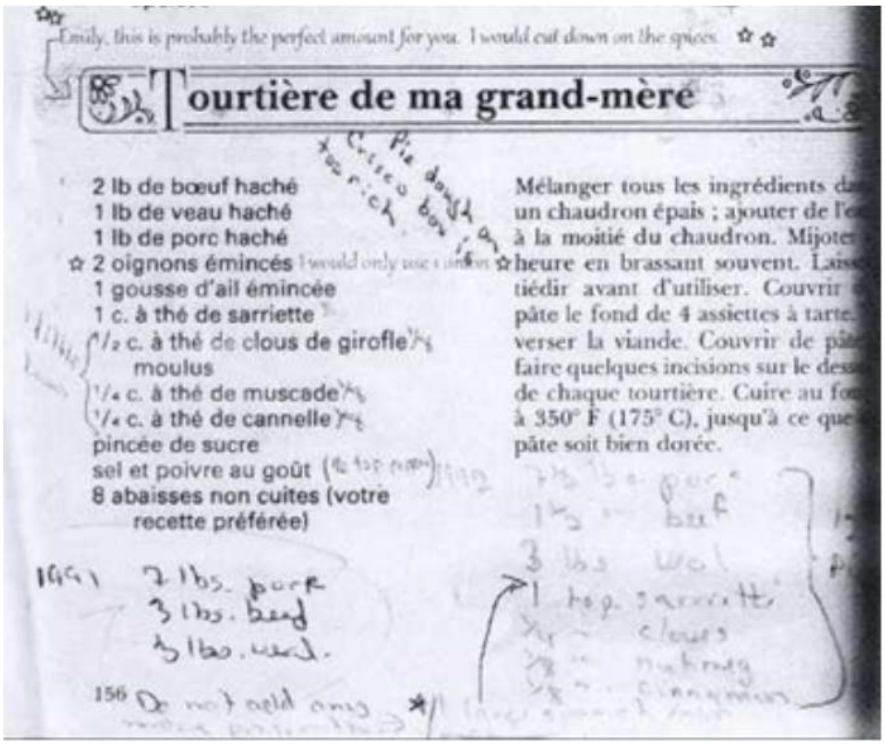
These meat recipes are related to the material object part of this project on another level as they allow me to make conclusions about the effect that modern society has had on the ways in which we are currently making food. For example, during their food interview, I observed my participants using a wide range of appliances such as microwaves, Kitchen Aid mixers, and an electric deep fryer. Indeed some traditional methods of preparation are too time consuming to be used by all or even at all. For example, though my mother likes to grind her own meat for her tourtières, she doesn't always have time to do it herself so will buy the already ground meat from the butcher. Marie-Claire Perron Groulx will dehydrate her tomatoes instead of canning them because it takes less time and also less space to store. Thus, people are clearly willing to compromise personal food values when it allows them to make the food they love. They do what they can and as much as they can but accept that they live in 2017 and that they must also work, raise a family, and meet the needs and pressures put on them by these and other social

[556] Natasha Krauss.
[557] Eric Roy, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., October 23, 2016.
[558] Jessica Perron.

forces. Some recipes, it is clear, are easier to adapt than others making it easy for the person to tailor the dish so that it is well received.

4. 4. Authenticity

When I first began working on this project, I remember arguing that making my mother's tourtière was a more authentic tie to my past than if I was making a recipe from, say, the *LCBO Food & Drink* magazine which suggested a fancy presentation in lettuce leaves (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2).



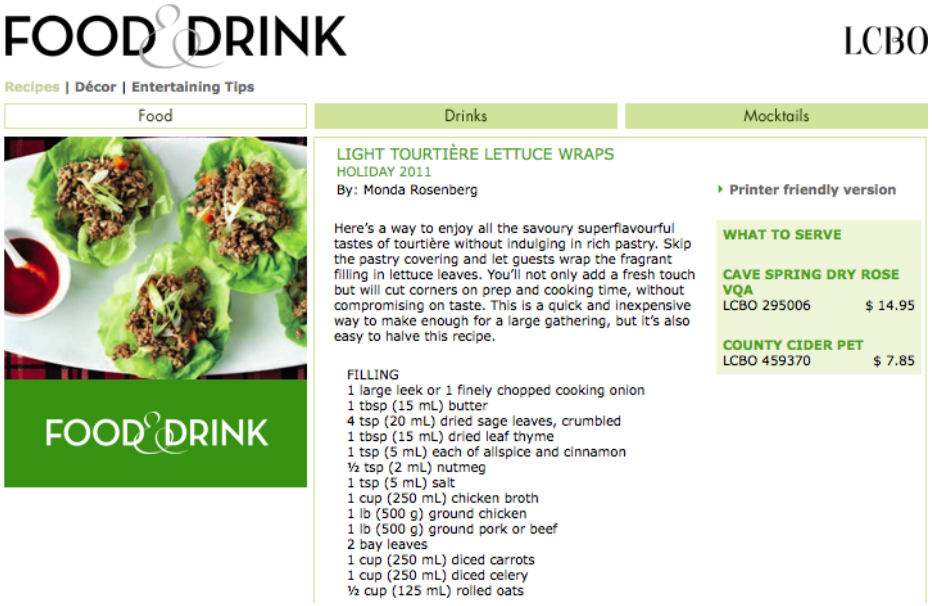
Emily, this is probably the perfect amount for you. I would cut down on the spices.

Tourtière de ma grand-mère

2 lb de bœuf haché
1 lb de veau haché
1 lb de porc haché
2 oignons émincés
1 gousse d'ail émincée
1 c. à thé de sarriette
1/2 c. à thé de clous de girofle moulus
1/4 c. à thé de muscade
1/4 c. à thé de cannelle
pincée de sucre
sel et poivre au goût
8 abaisses non cuites (votre recette préférée)

Mélanger tous les ingrédients dans un chaudron épais ; ajouter de l'eau à la moitié du chaudron. Mijoter 1 heure en brassant souvent. Laisser tiédir avant d'utiliser. Couvrir le fond de 4 assiettes à tarte de pâte, verser la viande. Couvrir de pâte, faire quelques incisions sur le dessus de chaque tourtière. Cuire au four à 350° F (175° C), jusqu'à ce que la pâte soit bien dorée.

Figure 1: "Tourtière de ma grand-mère" – Taken from my mother's copy of Lorraine Boisvenue's Le guide de la cuisine traditionnelle québecoise



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FOOD & DRINK

LIGHT TOURTIÈRE LETTUCE WRAPS

HOLIDAY 2011

By: Monda Rosenberg

Printer friendly version

Here's a way to enjoy all the savoury superflavourful tastes of tourtière without indulging in rich pastry. Skip the pastry covering and let guests wrap the fragrant filling in lettuce leaves. You'll not only add a fresh touch but will cut corners on prep and cooking time, without compromising on taste. This is a quick and inexpensive way to make enough for a large gathering, but it's also easy to halve this recipe.

FILLING
1 large leek or 1 finely chopped cooking onion
1 tbsp (15 mL) butter
4 tsp (20 mL) dried sage leaves, crumbled
1 tbsp (15 mL) dried leaf thyme
1 tsp (5 mL) each of allspice and cinnamon
½ tsp (2 mL) nutmeg
1 tsp (5 mL) salt
1 cup (250 mL) chicken broth
1 lb (500 g) ground chicken
1 lb (500 g) ground pork or beef
2 bay leaves
1 cup (250 mL) diced carrots
1 cup (250 mL) diced celery
½ cup (125 mL) rolled oats

WHAT TO SERVE

CAVE SPRING DRY ROSE VQA
LCBO 295006 $ 14.95

COUNTY CIDER PET
LCBO 459370 $ 7.85

Figure 2: "Light Tourtière Lettuce Wraps" – Taken from the LCBO Food & Drink, Holiday 2011 Edition

I do still believe that our first encounters with specific foodways shapes how we view the culture it comes from, as I showed in Chapter 3. If your mother made amazing tourtière then you will likely try to recreate it yourself someday. It might happen that no one else's tourtière, including your own, will ever compare to it. However, I have also come to realise through this project that versions of food die out over time because it is impossible to source the ingredients that are needed to make them. While Yvonne Buckner would give almost anything for the butter of her childhood, the truth is her grandchildren and great-grandchildren have no idea what that tasted like and may not even like it because their taste buds are so different. The meat that is purchased now is far different from the meat that was purchased before. Both my mother and Rhéal explained, for example, that they used to have to strain a lot of fat from the cooked meat when they made their tourtière but that the meat mixture of more recent years does not produce anywhere near the amount of fat it used to. This simple difference, a leaner product being sold in the grocery stores, could certainly account for a difference in taste and texture. But only they know the difference. In light of such changes, some must adapt their expectations

of some of our traditional foods. There are some things we cannot control. Some things we cannot replicate.

This project has made me question the idea of authenticity. What does being authentic even mean? Authentic for whom? Cipaille and tourtière, the top two food that made the top 5 list mentioned in Chapter 3, have a history longer than French-Canada. In fact, the Babylonians were making a meal very similar to tourtière back in 1600 BC[559] and a recipe for patina, a comparable meal, was also found in 400 AD.[560] The meal evolved throughout the centuries so that by the medieval period its "castle-like appearance of the pie, complete with crenels and topped with the banners of the lords at the table, transformed [it] into a perfect representation of feudal power."[561] By the seventeenth century, it was still being served in French and English courts but was also crossing class lines since it was "extremely practical, easy to make and preserve, apparently within the means of all and thus able to connote, on the whole, a gastronomic civilisation."[562] In the nineteenth century, royalty did not want to be surprised by unknown meat in a pie and thus the meal was relinquished to the gentry "who lived off the products of the land."[563] By then, the meat pie and its variations had not only made their way into a number of cookbooks but had also landed in Gaspésie, Quebec with the arrival of the European settlers.

Once in Canada, as we have seen in previous chapters, food practices migrated with the people throughout the country. In fact, cipaille and tourtière continued to be staple but unnoticed regional foods until the 1970s when the French needed to affirm their status as equal Canadian citizens. At this time,

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[559] In fact, Jean Bottero, a French anthropologist discovered the recipe on clay tablets in many Babylonian archaeological sites. See Jean-Pierre Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History*, Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009) 113.
[560] Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," 102.
[561] Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," 105.
[562] Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," 106.
[563] Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," 108.

> [t]he will to reconstruct a typically Québécois culinary patrimony emerged. This patrimony was founded on a return to regional cooking and served to promote culinary distinctiveness at the provincial level… Since the 1970s, the tourtière of the Lac St. Jean... [has become] the culinary emblem of a culturally rich and complex country with a fierce pride in its French cultural heritage and its promising future.[564]

Furthermore, we sometimes forget or ignore that English settlers also influenced French Canadian foodways. In an effort to protect French rights and identity in a country that is predominantly English, it is easy to privilege official, stereotypical versions of identity that ignore the extent to which English and French have been intertwined throughout Canadian history. In fact, Quebecois authors such as Pierre Lemasson have documented the ways in which French foods, such as tourtière migrated into Canada with English, rather than French, colonists. Although la tourtière du Lac-St. Jean is now a classic dish that is associated with French culture and resistance, Lemasson argues that this association would never have been possible if not for the English seafarers who brought it with them to the Gaspé area.[565] Other foods also demonstrate this hybridity. For example, few people question the habit of eating turkey at Christmas or Thanksgiving but this tradition represents a complex amalgamation of world views. On one hand, the tradition comes from a reference in Charles Dickens' *The Christmas Carol*.[566] On the other hand, it is an American tradition that was brought into Canada.[567]

With the exception of a few words here and there, the recipes, whether written by hand or cut out of a period newspaper, are not written in French. Looking at Yvonne Patterson Rochefort's cookbook

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[564] Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," 113.
[565] Lemasson, "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean," 105-106.
[566] Andrew Smith, *The Oxford companion to American Food and Drink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), *Googlebooks.ca*. April 26, 2014.
[567] Andrew Smith and Shelley Boyd Smith, "Talking Turkey: Thanksgiving in Canada and the United States," *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History*, Edited by Nathalie Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 119.

from 1941 and the cookbook Micheline made with her grandmother's handwritten recipes, it is interesting and telling to note that the recipes are all English. This suggests that though we may associate foods with our French heritage and culture, the association is personal. The fact that many people make the same recipes, that the recipes circulate between family and even friends, shows that recipes create ties between individuals within a family, a small community, and even a province or country. [568]

Inherent in part of the definition of "traditional" is that the food people consider traditional be connected to those who came before us. Indeed, as Moisa shows in her studies of the Orthodox religious community of Rawdon in Quebec and as Neustadt demonstrates in her study of the Allen's Neck clambake, keeping a tradition alive eventually requires that individuals take on the task of performing the tradition themselves.[569] The skills required to make the food need to be passed down from one generation to the next. This does not mean, however, that the recipes cannot evolve. Smaller, rural communities are not isolated like they once were. Spaghetti, fajitas, and garlic, are part of our vernacular. "Qui voudrait se limiter à que qu'chose de purement tradtionnel?" Michel asks as we discuss the evolution of our foodways.

> Premièrement les gouts sont changeant… déjà on était pas exposé à une panoplie de différent gouts puis de différents épices puis tout ça parc'qu'on avait pas. Donc on faisait avec ce qu'on avait. Donc le menu était beaucoup plus restreins. Beaucoup plus fondamental. Mais là. La mondialisation. On vas-tu dire, non j'veux pas être mondialisé?... Alors, comme la langue est

[568] Daniela Moisa makes a similar point in both "'La religion n'est pas la culture!' De la grande authenticité religieuse à l'authenticité spirituelle subjective. Les convertis à l'orthodoxie au Québec." *Théologiques* vol 21, no. 2 (2013): 201-227; and "'Être un vrai orthodoxe.' L'identité religieuse au Carrefour des registres d'authenticité." *Diversité urbaine* vol. 11, no. 2 (2011): 45-68 where she shows that the word "authenticity" may seem very obvious but that, in fact, to be "authentic" is actually very subjective. Defining something or someone as authentic is difficult because it depends on both a personal and collective notion of what authenticity means.

[569] Moisa, "'La religion n'est pas la culture!' De la grande authenticité religieuse à l'authenticité spirituelle subjective. Les convertis à l'orthodoxie au Québec" and "'Être un vrai orthodoxe.' L'identité religieuse au Carrefour des registres d'authenticité;" Kathy Neustadt, *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992).

changeant, comme les cultures sont changeantes, la nourriture c'est une partie intégrale de tout ça.[570]

Just like a language will be modified when individuals integrate English words and as they develop a regional dialect, foods are also modified by the influence of other foods and foodways. What is important to note then is that "authentic" cultural food does not mean making things exactly as they once were – that isn't possible. What allows certain foods to continue while others don't is that the individuals making them can relate to them – the ingredients are present in their lives and both the seasonal landscape and the practices associated with these ingredients force them to think about the foods. Moreover, the work needed to accomplish them is realistic and people have the needed tools. Yvonne's many recipes for different types of cream pies and those that call for apples are thus not unlike the different preserve recipes in mémère Laferrière's book. These are foods people were already eating and making. What is important in this discussion of French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture is recognising that the habit of growing a garden, canning goods, foraging, and hunting are habits that are part of my participants' collective memory and that these memories, like the ones discussed in Chapter 3, are tied to family, to tradition, to one's roots. "Ma soupe aux pois est pas mal différent que la soupe au pois de ma mère,"[571] Rhéal Perron tells me as an example to argue that the French culture will someday disappear from Astorville. "Oui," I answer. "Mais tu fais quand même une soupe au pois."

[570] Michel Perron.
[571] Rhéal Perron.

Reflection 4

When I get home from my parents' with the girls I find that, true to form, Will has made sausage and fries for supper. Both pans are on the stove top waiting for us. The table has been set and he's even already poured their milk. "I thought you'd have been here by now," he says as we scramble to the table.

After dinner the girls go off to take their baths and Will and I work together to clean up. My shopping bags are still sitting where I left them in the middle of the kitchen when we came in. I start putting the groceries away and bump into Will who is pulling a pork belly out of the fridge. I step around him to set something on the counter above the cupboard he's blocking. As I continue putting away what I can, he begins prepping the brine he needs to transform this piece of meat into bacon. He's been making bacon for a little over a year now. It started a few summers ago when his cousin Joey brought homemade bacon to the family reunion. It was good and Will, who loves to cook, was really excited about the possibility of making his own. Joey was excited too. The two talked and talked about the recipe and how it works. A few weeks later, Will received a box from Amazon. When he opened it, he discovered that Joey had sent him *Charcuterie: The Craft of Salting, Smoking & Curing* by Michael Ruhlman and Brian Polcyn. This, Joey had told him, is the bible of brined and cured meats. Super excited, Will set off to buy pink salt and a pork belly. A week later, however, he realised that he had bought the wrong salt. Rather than getting curing salt, he'd been sold Himalayan pink salt. The bacon was terrible and ended up being used in his bear bait that fall.

That had been the end of bacon until, one day, a bag of the right salt arrived in the mail. Having been over for our annual fishing weekend in February, Will had told Joey about the mishap and so Joey had sent some of his supply. Since then, Will makes bacon every couple of months. He takes a lot of pride in it and even brings it as gifts when we go visit people. In fact, he wraps it up in butcher paper the same way others will wrap a box of chocolates in fancy

wrapping paper or put a bottle of wine in a nice bag. This is very much his thing. He's sourced out the meat at a local butcher and even knows when the pork is delivered.

I like his bacon and look forward to it but I have to admit that right now I'm a little bit annoyed at having to wait to make my banana cake. We're leaving right after work tomorrow and so I need to be able to pack it in the morning. The cake is easy to make but the icing needs to be cooked over a double boiler so I want to do it tonight. I also need to give the cake time to cool down before putting the icing on it. It's already after six. This is going to be a long night.

"Vite, vite," I tell Krysten who's in the bath as I pass headed to the bedroom. "Tu peux venir m'aider à faire le gâteau quand t'as fini."

"Okay, Maman!" she says as she pulls herself out of the water.

"Emily, do you know if there's any more of that dark maple syrup left," Will shouts from the kitchen. "I thought there was still some up here."

"Yeah," I reply from down the hall. "It's way back behind the yogurt on the top shelf." I head back out to the kitchen to inspect, suitcase in hand. I see he's found it so I put the suitcase down on the couch and head into Krysten's room to get her some clothes for the weekend. "Is that the last of it?" I ask as I move between the rooms.

"No. There's another bottle in the freezer downstairs," he answers. "But then that's it. Hopefully your parents have a good year again this year and I'll be able to get some more."

I finish packing the girls' clothes and head into the kitchen hoping to get started on my stuff. "Here," Will says handing me a large Ziplock bag. "Hold this open for me?" I hold on as he slips the heavy pork belly inside.

Knowing he'll still need some time to clean up, I head back down the hall for a load of laundry. I sigh when I see that the basket in both our room and Karena's room is overflowing. Didn't I just do laundry a few days ago? Doing housework makes me grumpy. It makes me feel like I'm living through Groundhog Day. It never ends. Just as you get to the bottom of the pile or you get something cleaned up, you turn around and you need to restart. During my interviews, some women told me that they really enjoy cleaning. I had a really hard time believing that. To say that one likes housekeeping seemed, to me, to have been brainwashed into accepting a dominant idea of what women are supposed to like. Is it possible that women actually like that role? That they aren't just convincing themselves they like it? The more I think about it, and as I reflect on how gender roles have evolved in the home over the last century, it is not surprising that having a clean house does create a sense of joy for some women. In fact, though I like to make food, it's clear from my interviews that not all women do. It's logical to expect that some women like to clean even if I don't.

Marjorie De Vault argues in *Feeding the Family* that, historically, women have not been able to differentiate between housework and leisure – that they come to see housework *as* leisure – and so affirm their gendered selves through their hobbies. I wonder though, as I watch Krysten pull her stool into the kitchen to help me make the cake, why it seems wrong, from a feminist perspective, to enjoy these tasks that have been gendered female. I might detest cleaning washrooms and doing the laundry, but I love to spend time in the kitchen when I can make food I like. I pass Will as he heads out of the kitchen to go sit with Karena who is watching Tree House. Unlike Krysten, she doesn't care as much to be in the kitchen. These are just their personal interests. It might be frustrating, at times, to have Will in the kitchen but I'm sure it's frustrating for him, at times, to have me there and it would be way more frustrating if he was never there at all. The kitchen is not *my* place. It is *our* place. A place we both enjoy being.

“J’aime faire à manger avec toi, Maman,” Krysten tells me as she climbs from the stool onto the counter. “J’aime essayer des choses quand tu me laisse gouter.” The stress I’m feeling at needing to get everything done melts away as she says this.

“Merci, Krysten!” I say giving her a big hug. “J’aime faire à manger avec toi aussi! J’aime passer du temps avec toi.”

Chapter 5: Move Over, Honey!: Gender and Foodways

The previous chapters focused on the celebrations and rituals that include traditional foods. They have also shown how the ingredients needed to make these recipes are a product of the habits and customs that these people value as well as their food philosophies and their economic circumstances. While these previous chapters have implied who is making these foods, this chapter aims to take a closer look at the cook in the kitchen. We often assume that women are the ones in charge of making traditional meals and desserts and, so far, the participants I have quoted have supported this assumption by talking mostly of their mothers and grandmothers. Yet, many also have really fond memories of their fathers or uncles preparing foods. To assume that only women make food is thus inconsistent with reality.

According to performance and gender scholars such as Judith Butler, "[g]ender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed."[572] Through repeatedly performing what we believe to be either masculine or feminine acts, we not only create and support gender categories, but we make it difficult for the actions and the people performing them to change these categories in any way. For those interested in food, studying who makes food, how this activity is both gendered and valued by the maker and the consumer, who has the power in the food-making relationship, how power can be resisted, and how the food is acquired, prepared, and presented, is fundamental to understanding genuine human experiences and realities that men and women negotiate throughout their lives. If people do not feel that making traditional food is within their realm of possibilities, especially if the act is deemed inappropriate, then certain traditional foods and habits may disappear.

[572] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* Vol 40, No. 4 (Dec. 1988), 527.

This chapter will thus begin by showing how assigning chores to males and females within the home has evolved over time to reflect larger social trends and assumptions. This is followed by a discussion of the kitchen as a political place. By juxtaposing the kitchen with other settings where traditional foods are made, I hope to show that positive associations with traditional food can happen anywhere, not just in the home. In looking at the food made by both genders, this chapter will demonstrate that, fundamentally, women and men view their culinary contributions similarly.

5.1 Chores

5.1.1. 1930s and 1940s

Life has changed considerably since Yvonne Buckner, Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Bernard Rochefort, and Rhéal Perron were children. On the rural farms of their youth, there were few of the amenities we benefit from today. Before my grandfather published his books about his childhood, I had a stereotypical, gender-based idea of how work and roles were divided at the time. I had assumed that boys did no domestic work whatsoever and that girls not only did a lot around the house but that they were also in the kitchen from a very early age. Some of my assumptions were correct. When they were young, Rhéal tells, me, "[l]es filles aillaient pas à l'étable généralement sauf que quand… une ferme où on produisait d'la crème, y fallait toujours qui nettoie le crémateur."[573] Keeping women out of the barn was also true of her childhood, Laurette remembers that "les filles étaient pas allouées aller au, à la grange. Puis les filles dans votre temps aussi j'suppose," she says checking with her mother. "C'était plutôt pour avoir soins de la maison puis les hommes y travaillaient dehors. Les gars travaillaient dehors."

"C'est ça qui était la vie," Yvonne agrees. "L'homme faisait l'ouvrage dehors puis la femme dans maison. Puis la femme elle avait les enfants au soins."

[573] Rhéal Perron, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., April 7, 2016.

"Puis la cuisson," Laurette specifies.

"Puis la cuisson," Yvonne confirms.[574]

While men were busy outside, women were busy with the work needed to make the inside function. Domestic life in this era had a set routine:

> At our house, on the woman's side, Mondays were always devoted to laundry, hanging the clothes on the line outside… On Tuesdays, we ironed these fresh and clean clothes… On Wednesdays, my mother would bake 12 loaves of bread for the family. Then on Thursday, she performed other tasks, such as baking pies, cakes, and churning butter. Fridays were reserved for slaughtering, and my mother would gather the blood of pigs to make blood pudding. Saturdays were the day for the big cleaning of the house, mainly done by my sisters, who dusted all the furniture and washed all the floors.[575]

On top of cooking, baking, and canning goods, women also tended the garden. Indeed, in many homes, the garden "was more or less the woman's domain. The men spread manure on it then plowed and harrowed it. Afterwards, the women took charge, often with the help of the children."[576] They were also in charge of the sewing making bedspreads and most of the family's clothes. Overall, women were jacks of all trades. "Because doctors were difficult to get, they knew a lot about home remedies that they had learned from their mothers. They were also teachers. [Their] mother[s] often helped [them] with [their] homework. Those mothers were also philosophers who often advised their children on how to solve their problems."[577] They also looked after the finances.

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[574] Yvonne Buckner and Laurette Dégagné, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2016.
[575] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s* (Astorville: Tête du lac Publications, 2010), 56-58.
[576] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, 66.
[577] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, 64-66.

Laurette explains that "quand qu'on est v'nue un p'tit plus vielle on était capable faire un p'tit peu d'ouvrage. On avait chacun notre p'tite devoir à faire… On faisait la vaisselle. On balayait chacun… Mais c'tait pas d'aider dans la cuisine. On faisait la vaisselle… on aidait pas à cuire." "Oh non. Pas cuire," Yvonne confirms.[578] The revelation that the girls did not help to cook surprised me. My grandmother had told me the same thing in her interview for my MA project and, at the time, I had justified her story by telling myself that she was the last child in a large family. She remembered her sisters having helped around the house and so I assumed that they had been active in the kitchen even if she hadn't been. Though no one said so, it might be that, given the scarcity of the food, mothers did not want to risk spoiling what little they had at the hands of an inexperienced cook. Indeed, Noëlla Rancourt, whom I interviewed for the *Astorville Celebrates* project, shared that her first cipaille-making experience was a disaster. Having taken it upon herself to prepare dinner while her family was away, it turned out raw. No one complained, but she still remembers this moment and the waste of the meat.[579] Yvonne Patterson Rochefort started baking when she was sixteen years old. "I asked my mother to make some bran muffins. That's when it started… Not before. I used to wash the dishes from the age fourteen… sometimes I did dishes until two or three o'clock in the morning."[580] The kitchens in this era were also very hot with everything being cooked on the woodstove. It may therefore be that girls were not allowed to help with the actual cooking because of the danger.

Work in the home was certainly hard. Women had to haul their own water and heat it on a wood stove. They had to make all of their food from scratch. Moreover, the Catholic church mandated that women had to have children as often as they could. Though Yvonne, Laurette, and Amanda joked about Yvonne being given a twelfth baptism for free, women like Marie-Claire Vignola and Noëlla Leblanc

[578] Yvonne Buckner and Laurette Dégagné.
[579] Noëlla Leblanc, Personal Interview, Sturgeon Falls, ON., April 12, 2015.
[580] Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, Personal Interview, Gatineau, QC., January 18, 2016.

remember women being reprimanded for not being pregnant quickly enough after having given birth.[581] Giving birth to child after child, year after year, certainly takes its toll on a person's mind and body and, knowing that women were pregnant or nursing for most of their young adult life means that many would have been performing these heavy jobs pregnant and/or with small children running around. In some families, as was the case for Noëlla Rancourt, older girls were sometimes pulled out of school to stay home to help their mothers. In Yvonne Patterson Rochefort's case, when she wanted to quit school, her mother agreed, appreciating the help. Now in their nineties, both still have regrets about leaving school. Though Yvonne went on to have a career as a legal secretary, Noëlla did not have another opportunity. Noëlla in fact still has vivid memories of her first days at home watching her siblings leave for school. The pain and emotion she felt at the time were still present during her interview proving that the she did not feel her lot in life was fair.

Like their sisters and mothers, there were very specific jobs that the boys and men did on the farm. "[Q]uand… j'avais seulement que cinq ans j'rentrait le bois. Pour la cuisine. Le p'tit bois là," Bernard explains. "Puis mes plus grand, plus vieux frères rentraient le bois eux autres pour le… box stove par après."[582] ""J'pense pas qu'les gens réalisent combiens de bois qu'on brulait dans une maison des fois. Nos maisons étaient mal insulées. Y fallait entrer un cordon de bois, 2X8 là et c'est les enfants les plus jeunes qui entraient ça," Rhéal describes. "C'était la première job ça. Du bois."[583]

After this first job, boys were given other responsibilities. "Quand les plus jeunes prenaient notre place on avait une promotion à l'étable. Tout l'monde a travaillé à l'étable parc'que les plus vieux étaient peut-être partie travailler ailleurs. Et à l'étable y avait aussi… qui faisait quoi. Moi j'préférais les vaches. Aurel préférait n'importe quoi d'autre que faire les vaches. J'pouvais tirer deux vaches, trois vaches

[581] Noëlla Leblanc.
[582] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[583] Rhéal Perron.

pendant que lui en tirait une. [Il préférait] j'té l'foin en bas d'l'écurie, soigner, nettoyer l'étable."[584] This same promotion system happened in Bernard's home. Within the house, Bernard says he did very little but he did sort through the potatoes in the basement, and helped his mother card and spin wool.

Some of these male jobs, like doing the hay in the summer, the grain in the fall, cutting wood, and getting ice, were group efforts that took men farther from home but, on a daily basis, men also had a routine. Bernard explains in *Paintings and Childhood Memories in Astorville, Ontario in the 1930s*, that "[o]n the men's side, Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays were devoted largely to working the farm. In the summer and fall, Thursdays and Fridays were reserved for the slaughter because Saturday was market day."[585] These jobs were not jobs women did. Indeed, it is clear from Laurette's stories about bulls, rams, and roosters chasing people that the barnyard could be a dangerous place that required wit and nerve if not also physical strength.

Despite the gendered norms of the time, there certainly seems to have been exceptions to the rules. Bernard tells me that, at his house, the girls were in the barn and his mother helped out: "j'dirais que les filles tiraient les vaches. Pas toutes par exemple… Ma mère v'nait à l'écurie à toutes les soirs pour tirer les vaches avec nous aussi."[586] Rhéal remembers that though the girls never went out to the barn, he often helped in the kitchen "parc'que les cinq derniers c'était des garçons."[587] The boys, it appears, had enough help in the barn whereas the "filles avaient plein les mains. Tu sais que nourrir une gang de crève faim comme nous autre c'était pas une tâche facile là."[588]

These exceptions to these gender rules, it would seem, depended largely on the gender and birth order of the children in the home. There was a lot of work that needed to get done and help, in the end,

[584] Rhéal Perron.
[585] Bernard Rochefort, *Painting and Childhood Memories in Astorville in the 1930s*, 58.
[586] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[587] Rhéal Perron.
[588] Rhéal Perron.

was help no matter what that child's gender was. Laurette confirms this of her own home. Since the last few children were five girls and one boy, her parents had no choice but to send the girls into the barn. "J'aimais ça aller avec lui," Laurette remembers of her time with her father. "Pour planter des poteaux d'clôture puis aller avec lui quand qu'y coupait du bois."[589] Looking back on these examples of the division of chores by gender, we may be tempted to consider these deviations as early examples of gender equality. Yet, Rhéal reminds me, "à l'époque, ça n'existait pas question de femme et homme là. C'était pas un facteur. C'était automatique."[590]

It might be that this gendered division of labour stems partly from the religious teachings inherent in the Catholic Church. After all, it is clearly written in the Book of Genesis that God tells Adam "to work, and [he punishes] Eve… with the pain of childbearing and motherhood."[591] In the Western world, these teachings have become "evidence of the naturalness of [men's and women's] respective responsibilities."[592] The Cult of True Womanhood, as this ideology of separate spheres has often been called, taught both men and women that a proper female should use her "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" to be "happ[y] and power[ful]."[593] Women who failed to possess these four characteristics were deemed to be social and personal failures. In other parts of the province, the Depression era was a time when these ideas of separate spheres were challenged by high, male unemployment rates. Women in bigger cities, like the Montreal of Denyse Baillergeon's studies and the Toronto of Katrina Srigley's studies, prove that this was a time when young women were taking over the

[589] Laurette Dégagné.
[590] Rhéal Perron.
[591] Amy Brooke Antonio, "Writing Women: The Virtual Cookbook and Pinterest" *M/C Journal* 16, no. 3 (Jun. 2013), accessed July 30, 2013, http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/644
[592] Brooke Antonio.
[593] Barabara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly*, 18 (1966), 152.

role of the family breadwinner because there were job opportunities for females that were not considered appropriate for males.[594]

Public work does not appear to have been the case for the women of Astorville. Perhaps it is because there was enough work to do on the farm and because life in the rural areas did not develop as quickly as in the city, but from my participants' accounts it sounds as though life had always been difficult and men had learned to find additional resources to support their families before the Depression started. Families may have supplemented their limited income by building cottages and renting them out to tourists, cutting wood to sell, or trapping, but women did not work even in these jobs publicly. Rather, they supported by making food for the tourists, keeping the household going, and helping with the fur once it came home. As the family breadwinner, men certainly had their own pressures since they were the ones who brought in the majority of the finances. Women may have collected the eggs and made the cream that was sold at the market, but the men were the ones in charge of those financial transactions. Families worked together to make ends meet.

In *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression*, Lara Campbell argues that the women of this era worked with the system by taking pride in their ability to manage their household on a limited budget. In fact, the home was an important symbol in this era which represented hard work and thrift – "the moral qualities one needed to possess in order to be considered a good citizen."[595] Thus, though none of my participants talked about the Cult of True

[594] Denyse Baillergeon, "'If You Had No Money, You Had No Trouble, Did You?': Montréal working-class housewives during the Great Depression" *Women's History Review*, 1, no. 2 (2006), 217-237; "Indispensable But Not a Citizen: the Housewife in the Great Depression," *Home, Work, and Play: Situating Canadian Social History, 1848 – 1980*, Edited by James Opp and John C. Walsh (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2006), 217-237; Katrina Srigley, "Clothing Stories: Consumption, Identity, and Desire in Depression Era Toronto" *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007); *Breadwinning Daughters: Young Working Women in the Depression-Era City, 1929 – 1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 82-104.

[595] Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 118.

Womanhood or the pressure to have a respectable home, it is clear from their stories of women's attention to raising their children with good morals, pride in having a clean home, and to making sure all family members dressed presentably that these ideas dominated at the time Yvonne, Yvonne, Bernard, and Rhéal were children.

Though the children may have been able to cross gender lines, it is clear that the men did not. Indeed, none of my participants who grew up in the Depression era remember their fathers cooking in the home. Denyse Baillergeon explains that "[t]he ideology of separate spheres was so entrenched that this gendered division of labour seemed to spring from immutable natural law, and so the question would never arise as a topic of discussion between engaged couples."[596] Women, therefore, did not ask for help from their husbands because "[t]o ask for help was the same as admitting they were not able to carry out their part of the husband-wife contract, and that would bring their own femininity into question."[597] When it comes to daily roles and tasks in Astorville then, it seems that separate spheres were just the norm. Women did not know any differently and so it was not a question for my great-grandmother, for example, to quit her teaching job when she got married. Yvonne Buckner certainly confirms what Rhéal said above, these roles were not questioned. That's just the way things were and my participants do not remember their parents arguing about it.

When I interviewed Yvonne, Laurette, Amanda, and Eve, Amanda's husband came in and prepared his own lunch. Interested in her twenty-first century perspective, Yvonne's family asked her what she thought of these changes to gender roles.

"Mais maint'nant quand vous voyez un homme comme Carl, si on l'envoye faire la vaisselle puis on s'rait assie, trouveriez-vous ça étrange?" her daughter asks.

[596] Baillergeon, "Indispensable But Not a Citizen: the Housewife in the Great Depression," 65.
[597] Baillergeon, "Indispensable But Not a Citizen: the Housewife in the Great Depression," 67.

"Comme Carl est entré puis a mis son assiette dans l'micro-onde. Y est partie avec. Est-c'que c'était, est-c'que c'est bizarre qu'un homme ai faite ça?" Amanda asks.

"Y a rien d'mal là. Si l'homme avait été pressé et puis après ça l'autre arrive y est, y fait rien, c'est pas correcte," Yvonne answered.[598]

In, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," Judith Butler reminds us we must be cautious about our analysis of gender. In our efforts to understand gender oppression, we must first see "whether the category of women is socially constructed in such a way that to be a woman is, by definition, to be in an oppressed situation."[599] When I asked my grandfather if he thought his mother was happy with her life, he answered that "[e]lle était contente. Était d'bonne humeur ma mère. B'en pour son repos elle, l'hiver, le soir c'était tricoter… Broder puis tricoter. Puis souvent à jouait aux cartes avec nous autre. À l'aimait ça jouer aux cartes, ma mère. Mon père aussi."[600] Yvonne Buckner did not seem bothered by their division of labour within the home nor with the idea that it's a woman's role to be there for her husband.

Yvonne Patterson Rochefort, it is clear, did not like doing certain jobs around the house, like cleaning the stove and the windows every week, but, she also expresses that there was never a sense that men were superior to women in her home. While Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx shares that there was a strict hierarchy in some homes of the period whereby women ate after men, this was not the case for Yvonne Buckner or Yvonne Patterson Rochefort. Yvonne Patterson Rochefort tells me that "I didn't know that sort of feeling that we women were inferior to men… Even when the feminists came on… They used to make me mad so much cause I never felt inferior and why treat the men [like that]."[601] Leaving

[598] Laurette Dégagné, Amanda Beaudry, and Yvonne Buckner, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., March 27, 2017.
[599] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 523.
[600] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[601] Yvonne Patterson Rochefort.

Astorville to go work in Toronto was not always easy, Yvonne says. They were long days sitting behind a desk in unbearable heat. But she refused to come back because it was not the future she wanted for herself. Curious about her statement about feminists, I asked her about her work in Toronto. "Did you feel you had the same job opportunities as men?" "I wasn't capable of doing men's work," she answered. "I only had typing so I never thought of it."[602]

It is thus also important to recognise that males and females are born into a world that expects certain behaviours and actions from them. In other words, "the body is always an embodying *of* possibilities both conditioned and circumscribed by historical convention. In other words, the body *is* a historical situation… and is a manner of doing, dramatizing, and *reproducing* a historical situation."[603] Women are not born female. Rather, "to be a woman is to have *become* a woman, to compel the body to conform to an historical idea of 'woman,' to induce the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to an historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal project."[604] Given the societal pressure of the time, it is therefore not surprising that, when they were growing up, many women conformed to the idea of separate spheres. From a twenty-first century perspective, it is easy to see that the pressure put on women to have children was certainly taxing on their bodies and that their domestic work kept them from working publicly. We must not forget though that men had expectations they needed to live up to as well and that the dangers of their work and the pressure to be the family breadwinner required its own kind of physical and mental strength.

[602] Yvonne Patterson Rochefort.
[603] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 522.
[604] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 522.

5.1.2. 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s

When the children of the 1930s and 1940s grew up and got married, it is not surprising that they continued these gendered norms. Norms after all, especially gender ones, are "important because they establish the behavioural context for those who try to reject them as much as for those who attempt to realize them. They existed as goals… and provided a source of identity and self-esteem."[605] When people partner up, there might certainly be some comfort in knowing what is expected of each person. Then, as long as both parties agree with these expectations, it is also nice to know one is holding up one's end of the bargain. This certainly seems to be the case for these individuals.

The expectation that women would be in charge of the home and men would be the breadwinners was still there in the marriages of the 1950s and 1960s. Rhéal, for example, explains that "d'abord moi j'ai marié une fille de Sudbury qui était enseignante puis c'est une famille aussi qui, y avait quand même des traditions assez claires que c'était le rôle de la maman de dominer le foyer."[606] Bernard tells me the same thing, "[a]h b'en c'est pas mal toujours Rolande qui a pris soins, qui a fait à manger. J'ai jamais fait à manger moi avant que je sois tout seul b'en proche."[607] Like their mothers before them, it appears that these women were pleased with their lives. In fact, my aunts and uncle remember their mother as being happy. "Ma mère, à l'aimait nettoyer la maison puis elle aimait faire à manger puis toute ça,"[608] Lucie tells me. "Non, c'était la tradition à c'temps là… À v'nu quand même d'une famille qui était comme ça. Puis la femme était à la maison. À prendre soins des enfants. À prendre soins du ménage… Ma mère était toujours une femme qui aimait une maison propre. Faisait toujours le gros ménage le vendredi. Le gros ménage le printemps. Le gros ménage l'automne,"[609] Carmen tells me.

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[605] Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 22.
[606] Rhéal Perron.
[607] Bernard Rochefort, Personal Interview.
[608] Lucie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.
[609] Carmen Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., April 28, 2016.

"[C]'était ça son rôle puis. J'certain qu'elle aimait ça," Rhéaume tells me, "parc'que, elle aimait b'en faire à manger. C'était toujours vraiment bon. T'sais à s'donnait beaucoup de trouble pour préparer les, surtout durant les fêtes, les tourtières puis cipaille puis les beans… [d]es tartes. Faisait b'en des biscuits."[610]

Not only did she seem to enjoy her work, but her children also view her contributions in the home as an important balance to the work their father did outside the home. All of his children talked to me about the fact that Bernard started his own business when they were young. This meant "papa était occupé avec son commerce et puis y travaillait vraiment fort puis y revenait à la maison souvent tard puis souvent, comme durant l'hiver, y sortait dans le milieu de la nuit parc'qu'y avait des fournaises qui fonctionnaient pas puis ces choses-là."[611] Rolande, "à prenait vraiment soins de la maison puis des enfants… a toujours travaillé fort comme ça d'une différente manière… Maman… prenait soin de nous autre. Et puis… faisait toute. Le lavage, le souper, le nettoyage. S'organisait, s'assurait que on était prêtes pour l'école puis toutes ces choses-là. À faisait beaucoup de nos vêtements."[612] Like the women before her, Rolande supported and helped the business from inside the home. Carmen tells me that "[m]a mère a beaucoup aidé à mon père. Elle était occupée… dans les premières années parc'que aussi [il faisait] la livraison de l'huile pour les fournaises alors c'est elle qui faisait toute la run pour mon père... Pour que quand que les hommes allaient faire la livraison le matin tout était organisé. Alors elle faisait le billing puis c'est choses là."[613] Moreover, she was the rock that Bernard could come to at the end of the day to confide in. Both Carmen and Pauline share that their mother would make sure she was ready for her husband's arrival when "y s'assoyait dans chaise berceuse et… parlait de sa journée et maman l'écoutait. Y communiquait avant que nous autre on vienne souper. Nous autre on était occupé à jouer dehors ou

[610] Rhéaume Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 27, 2016.
[611] Carmen Weiskopf.
[612] Carmen Weiskopf.
[613] Carmen Weiskopf.

peut-être regarder un peu d'télévision puis j'pouvais les entendre. Y communiquait de leurs journées. C'était un peu d'un temps spéciale entre les deux. Avant que ça devienne occupé encore."[614]

If the children remember their mother as happy, they, and her husband also, remember that she did not love every aspect of her job. "J'sais qu'elle aimait pas faire des lunchs… J'pense pas qu'à raffolais faire le lavage, mais, j'pense pas qu'y a beaucoup d'monde qu'y raffole faire du lavage."[615] Her children and husband also agree that she would have loved to have pursued a higher education but that, given the times she grew up in, her family did not have the means to send another girl to school. She was, however, able to express her creativity and talents through her gardens, sewing, and art. It is also clear from Bernard's account in his book *Nipissing Junction and Beyond* as well as his children's opinions, that Rolande was upset when her contribution to the family business was replaced by a secretary Bernard hired. Though he had done this to give her more time and to alleviate her workload, she often teased him that she had been fired.

Overall, my participants make it clear that they do not remember either parent ever complaining about the work they had to do. While Lucie remembers that her father did not really love working outside when he got home, it is clear from these memories that men and women worked hard in their own ways, in their own parts of the house. Even if there were some regrets about unfulfilled dreams, it is not clear that a higher education would have changed the options or possibilities women like Rolande faced if they also wanted to have a family. Indeed, Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx is very clear that women could no longer work once they were expecting.[616] Despite these societal limitations, it seems that women still had a lot of power because of their role in the home. "My grandparents got along really well," Pat tells me. "They were very old fashioned mind you… And I think it was just an era. At one time

[614] Carmen Weiskopf.
[615] Rhéaume Rochefort.
[616] Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2016.

where, yeah, I guess the man ran the house, but ideally, if you really looked at the situation. The guy wasn't running anything. My grandmother was the boss and that was understood. On both sides."[617]

These ideas of separate spheres remained largely unchanged even in the next age cohort. My mother shares this reality when talking about how my father and she started their married life together:

> Papa vient d'une famille très traditionnelle aussi. Puis encore on a les mêmes sortes d'idées. Opa était très occupé avec son commerce et Oma a beaucoup aidé aussi avec les tâches de finances et comptabilité. Mais elle aussi c'était une femme qui prenait soins de la famille, qui a pris soins des jardins. De toutes les tâches autour de la maison parc'que son homme était occupé à faire rentrer l'argent pour la famille. Alors papa a grandi dans une même sorte de famille puis quand j'me suis mariée avec lui, y avait un ferme. Y avait une terre. Alors y avait du labourage à faire. Y avait des tracteurs à arranger. Y avait toujours mille et une choses. Papa a jamais été la sorte d'homme qui s'est assie à regarder la télévision… Alors, c'était pas comme si j'pouvais dire, "Oh b'en lui y regarde à télévision puis moi j'toute pris à faire les choses.[618]

As with people in the age cohort discussed above, I also remember my mother being happy and content. Though she did eventually work part-time when we started school, and for some years full-time, the inside of the home has always been her domain. When I asked them, my siblings had similar impressions of my mother being happy. "At the time," Natalie shares, "I don't think I viewed it as she having any other care in the world but to care for her kids kind of thing. And she was always happy… [They] had made decisions so that they could have four kids and live modestly and whatever and those decisions included Daddy working and Maman staying home."[619] Lydia tells me that she feels her mother saw her

[617] Pat Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[618] Carmen Weiskopf.
[619] Natalie Weiskopf, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 17, 2016.

role "[a]s important. I think she was happy, very happy there."[620] David echoes this sentiment when he explains that "I think she embraced it. I think she enjoyed having that, like, one-on-one time with us more. That's the way I perceived it."[621] When they were first married, my mother did not work outside the home. When I asked her how she felt about her role in the family as being the one who cooked, cleaned, and looked after the children, she answered that, though it would be nice to have dinner made for her every once in a while, she's really happy. She has a beautiful family she's proud of.[622]

Of our father, my siblings agree that men and women still had their spaces and roles. "I think, well she had her roles, he did his thing," Lydia says. "I never really sensed attitude or like, you know some families have that, 'You're the wife, you do this.'… I never got that sense. They just knew what their roles were and did them… Never heard them argue about them."[623] Natalie and David agree that his role was "to work,"[624] be the "financial provider,"[625] to be "the disciplinarian and to do all like the outside physical labour. Home improvements type thing."[626] I don't remember my parents ever really arguing about housework either but there has certainly always been a standard of cleanliness in our home that both my parents care for. When my mother gets busy, it is clear that my father gets frustrated. The fact that he comments about the house getting messy without doing anything to fix the problem indicates to me that he does not feel it is his issue to fix.

Happy as she is, it is also clear that my mother has made personal sacrifices for her family. She did not pursue the job she trained for because it would have meant long shifts, even night shifts, that would not accommodate having children at a time when men were not typically the ones to stay home

[620] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016.
[621] David Weiskopf, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.
[622] Carmen Weiskopf.
[623] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.
[624] Natalie Weiskopf.
[625] David Weiskopf.
[626] Natalie Weiskopf.

and raise children so their wives could work. “I felt like Maman pretty much devoted her entire life at that time to us,” Natalie says. “Between the four of us and the house, I don’t remember Maman having any independent hobbies until we were all in high school then she took up photography... She didn’t not do anything or anything like that and she did a lot of sewing and stuff but her major devotion was her family… sometimes you get the impression that she knows that she worked 24 hours a day at that time.”[627] These expectations of motherhood, put on by herself, my father, and the world in which she grew up, help explain why my mother did not have any personal hobbies until we grew up and could help. Hobbies take time and, as my mother worked more and more outside the home, she could not also keep up with her work inside if she started doing other things.

When women of my mother’s age cohort began having to work outside of the home full-time, couples still tended to split housework along traditional gender lines. “J’ai toujours travaillé,” Laurette Dégagné tells me, and then came home to do the housework “[p]arc’que j’l’ai accepté. C’était ça qu’y fallait que j’fasse. C’était mon rôle.”[628] The fact that she worked outside the home at all, however, was already a much different reality than that of her older sister who did not start working for pay until she was divorced and needed to support her children, or that of her sister Yvette. Indeed, Lisa remembers the day her mother started working outside the home and also remembers that her mother came home to take care of the house and do all the cooking.[629]

Part of this division of labour is certainly due to the period but it is also important to remember that some of it has to do with personal interests. As Jean-Pierre Perron explains, for example, “mon père faisait les choses dehors. Puis ma mère faisait les choses en d’dans. Ma mère est pas une pour vraiment aimer les choses dehors. I’m sure she’ll agree. Like she didn’t keep any gardens. Just didn’t interest her.

[627] Natalie Weiskopf.
[628] Laurette Dégagné.
[629] Lisa Loeffen, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.

She'd prefer to stay inside and read a book… My dad didn't like to be inside. He liked being outside."[630] This is the exact opposite of Pauline Rochefort who says "j'ai pas vraiment endossé le rôle traditionnel d'une femme… Même si j'aurais eu [des] enfants, je sais j'aurais travaillé. Imposer sur mes enfants des gardiennes. Imposer que le travail fasse partie de leur environnement."[631] This is because housework was never what she was interested in. She, like Micheline Dégagné, preferred being outside mowing the lawn rather than inside doing the dishes.

As the examples of the Buckner sisters demonstrates, it is clear that ideas of male and female work in and around the home changed over the course of this period. Even more change comes for the women who come after them. For my mother's youngest sister, who is seven years younger than her, "[c]'est plus partagé j'pense que dans l'temps d'nos parents à cause du fait qu'on, b'en comparativement à ma mère, je travaille. À l'extérieur de la maison. Je pense que tu aides plus dans la cuisine disons que mon père… Et puis, um, tu vas plus aidé avec le lavage. Mon père, j'peux pas me souvenir qu'y faisait le lavage à c'point si d'sa vie là… Mais, j'veux dire, j'aide un p'tit peu dehors mais j'ai pas beaucoup d'temps pour aider plus."[632] This is a period then where women are starting to assert that men can, and should, contribute more to the daily functioning of the home. Speaking of her own brothers, Aline explains that she has noticed that her older brother's wife tends to do a lot for him whereas one of the younger one's wife has asked for help.[633] Thus unlike her older brother, her younger brother helps out a lot. Lisa shares a similar story. Whereas her brothers did very "male" gendered chores around the house as children, today both of them do the bulk of the housework.[634] Thus in this age cohort we see a shift between those who see married life as partnership between two people working "ensemble dans différentes

[630] Jean-Pierre Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 12, 2016.
[631] Pauline Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 21, 2016.
[632] Lucie Laperrière.
[633] Alince Coote, Personal Interview, Corbeil, ON., November 30, 2015.
[634] Lisa Loeffen.

directions"[635] and people for whom the partnership means sharing the work and the areas in which those jobs are done.

In terms of traditional foods, this is an important turning point. As more and more women work outside the home, they no longer have time to make the stews and cipailles, never mind the pickles and preserves, of the past. Indeed, with favourable interest rates at 18.5% in the 1980s, having women stay home was not an option or luxury everyone could afford. With less time to make food, Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx points out, society developed Kraft Dinner and Swanson Dinners to help women out and recipes for 40 day pickles became ridiculous.[636]

5.1.3. 1980s and 1990s

The children of this generation of men and women take different lessons from their parents. For some, like Amanda, the difference is that they refused to accept the traditional roles their mothers had and purposely picked partners who would support a more shared distribution of labour. In fact, she and her sister changed the behaviour in their families to the point that their own father, who had never changed a diaper when his daughters were small, regularly changed his grandchildren's diapers when they were babies and now also looks after them every day when they get off the school bus. Amanda's and Christine's own husbands also share in these and other tasks. The expectation that women, not men, are responsible for looking after the children is also changing. In fact, one of my personal favourites is when people ask my husband why he's babysitting when he's out alone with the kids. His answer is always that he's not babysitting. Babysitting would imply that looking after the kids is not his normal role. "I'm parenting," he always answered the stereotypical question. Gender, as we saw above, is a social construction. It is "a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the ode of belief. If the ground of gender

[635] Carmen Weiskopf.
[636] Marie-Claire Perron-Groulx, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 17, 2016.

identity is the stylized repetition of acts through time… then the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the arbitrary relations between such acts, in the possibility of a different sort of repeating, in the breaking of subversive repetition of that style."[637] Indeed, many of my participants share that they help out their spouse as much as they can – both in and outside the home. Some of this stems from having been exposed to all sorts of work as children through the chores they did, but it also comes from recognising that both people work outside the home and that, when both partners arrive at the end of the day, there is still work to do even if they are both tired.

Social change does not come easily. Performing, no matter the context, means putting ourselves into "crisis, schism, and conflict," according to Richard Schechner.[638] He references Eutenio Barba to add that all performers put "themselves in disequilibrium and then display[] how they regain their balance, psychologically, narratively, and socially – only to lose their balance, and regain it, again and again."[639] This sort of rebalancing can, of course, happen when we attempt to uphold traditional gender ideas. When my grandmother burnt her first pot roasts, for example, or my mother felt she needed to learn to make tourtière, both women called their mothers and sisters to figure out how to perform their role properly. Changing the script that we know and have come to believe comes with a much more public conflict. For men, the danger is the perception of being seen as "hen-pecked," and being teased for their actions. For women, it is the fear of appearing domineering and mean. In this sense, the fear of the social consequence may keep some from changing. Yet, "just as the play requires both text and interpretation, so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives."[640] This causes social imbalance and can create conflict

[637] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 520.
[638] Richard Schechner, "Introduction: The Fan and the Web," *Performance Theory* (Taylor & Francis e-Library), xviii.
[639] Schechner, "Introduction," xviii.
[640] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 526.

because the behaviour "*constitutes* a reality that is in some sense new, a modality of gender that cannot readily be assimilated into the pre-existing categories."[641]

Despite these societal changes in attitudes towards work, the idea of separate spheres is still very dominant in most of my participants' answers. "Well you know we both work. We both contribute. But at the end of the day, like the mom is still the mom and the dad is still the dad," Natalie says.

> Which to me means that the kind of obligation to keep your kids busy and to care for your kids, bathe your kids and get the lunches ready and that sort of thing is still the mother's role. Even if there's participation from the father and then in terms of the household, like my husband cooks a lot and he does the outdoor stuff. But when it comes to the inside stuff, not to say that he won't, you know help to fold some laundry or whatever, vacuum occasionally but normally bathroom, vacuuming, clothes, my stuff. Window washing.[642]

This view that men and women have different natural strengths and skills came up in France's and Natasha's interviews as well. They both share that their husbands can help, but they don't usually do it right so it's easier to do it themselves. This is also the case for Eric and Missy. Laughing, Eric tells me that he doesn't believe these ideas of male and female spheres is "gone completely. Cause when I do the laundry. Or fold. She's like. It has to be redone. And I'm like that with my grass. [She'll mow the lawn but not] pick up all the grass clippings. Oh no, that's good enough."[643]

Though separate spheres dictate normal, everyday behaviour, necessity, as in the past, is at the root of most action and so while boys in the past did help in the kitchen and girls did go out to the barn, the same is true today. Growing up, Pat says, "did I do dishes and stuff?... We emptied the dishwasher

[641] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 527.
[642] Natalie Weiskopf.
[643] Eric Roy and Missy Trudel, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., October 23, 2016.

and cleaned up after supper and I did cook to help mom out and stuff. But…, generally when I came home from school, it was, get at it. We had eight hours of grass to cut… I always had two jobs… We didn't have that much time so my brother would do the laundry. And it was who was interested in what. Eric didn't really care to go plowing or to go cut a bunch of lawns."[644] Partnership, in other words providing for one's family and taking care of one's property, means that people need to do what it takes to get a job done. So while starting a fire used to be a big deal for Leantha, today she is a pro. France plows the driveway when Curtis is working out of town. Micheline's father cooked dinner every night of the week so he could run his business from home and his wife could work at the bank.

5.2. The Kitchen – A Political Place

Despite these obvious changes in household dynamics, for most of my participants the daily chore of cooking, meal prep, and grocery shopping still falls most often to the woman in the house when she is around. There is much debate in feminist scholarship about the kitchen. "As a woman's *place*," Meredith Arbaca discusses, "the kitchen can imply a site of mandatory wifely and motherly duty to her family, culture, and even nation, a servitude that makes her financially dependent on her husband's salary… In this context, many feminists argue that the kitchen represents the locus of women's emotional, physical, spiritual, and economic vulnerability."[645] If we return for a moment to the notion of place versus space defined in Chapter 4, we need to understand that feminist geographers use the historic association between women's natural work and the physical kitchen area to argue that kitchens are generally *places* since they are imbued with the nostalgic and assumed roles and responsibilities associated with women. Because kitchens have, at certain points in history, been physically located in the back, or more private areas of the home, they have, at times, literally isolated women from the social world of the more public, common areas. These feminist and geography scholars contrast this form of

[644] Pat Dégagné.
[645] Meredith Arbaca, *Voices from the Kitchen: Views of Food and the World from Working-Class Mexican and Mexican American Women* (Texas: A&M University Press, 2006), 19.

place, which is oppressive and subordinating, with the possibility of the kitchen *space*, where women use the kitchen as "a site of multiple changing levels and degrees of freedom, self-awareness, subjectivity, and agency."[646] In seeing the possibility of *space* rather than *place*, we see the effects of patriarchy subsiding.

Of course, if we only look at kitchens as sites of oppression, that is all we will find. Rather, as geographer Linda McDowell says, we must not assume that notions of place and space are stable and unchangeable. It is thus important that the majority of my female participants see the kitchen as a social, inclusive spot. Indeed, other than Lucie's previous house, Natalie and Danny's house, and my parents' house, all the kitchens I was in during my research were open-concept designs with the kitchen opening onto the dining room and/or the living room. Even then, my parents' kitchen has a huge island at which people gather while she is making food. Indeed, Lucie contrasts open and closed kitchens in her interview when explaining why they wanted an open-concept kitchen in their new home. In a closed kitchen,

> si t'avais, b'en, des jeunes enfants ou d'la visite b'en, puis t'es dans la cuisine, mais tu peux pas interagir avec eux autre. Alors qu'un style plus ouvert, b'en t'es plus. Parler aux gens. Y sont là. Voulait un comptoir où les gens pouvaient s'assoir pour… plus si y a des gens qui préparent la nourriture tu peux quand même parler avec ceux qui sont assis… on voulait que ça soit assez grand pour avoir suffisament de personnes, t'sais, qui font des affaires dans la cuisine. Parc'que b'en, nos enfants grandissaient puis… Si on prépare des choses, puis qu'y a d'autres personnes qui nous aident, b'en ça prend plus de place. On avait un manque de place dans l'autre cuisine.[647]

[646] Arbaca, *Voices from the Kitchen*, 19.
[647] Lucie Laperrière.

In these open-concept kitchens, even if it is the woman who is preparing the food, men are forced into the space because of the lack of barriers. This gives partners a chance to talk, as my mother and her siblings remember of their own parents and as France recalls when she says, "mon père s'assisait toujours, toujours à la table de la cuisine pendant que ma mère à faisait les, les mets puis les choses comme ça. Alors y a passé beaucoup de temps-là puis ensuite y s'parlait."[648]

There is no doubt that in the past, women did trade at least part of their wellbeing for their domestic work. My grandmother, like Yvonne Buckner for example, did not have the option to work for wages. Like Yvonne's story of making special Easter eggs, my grandmother was able to shape the kitchen into a space in which she could demonstrate her creativity and talent. In a recipe book I made for my cousin's wedding, my grandmother's contributions demonstrate her experience and resourcefulness as a cook. Her first recipe is for a soup with lots of greens that she invented herself because "je m'aperçois que nous ne mangeons pas assez de legumes verts."[649] In her second entry, Peach Can Crisp, she explains that she would make an apple or peach crisp for dessert "chaque fois qu'il m'arrivait de la visite surprise… les fruits peuvent être changés pour pommes, bluets ou pèches."[650] Although her recipes have clear instructions, they encourage Brienne and Jack to modify them. From her entries, one gathers that food should be enjoyed. Her recipes are malleable and engage the couple in a discussion about the best way to prepare and serve these dishes. Grand-maman's recipes clearly present her as a knowledgeable domestic professional able, as Elizabeth McDougall writes, to "[reflect on] the communal sense of cooking and [work within its] tradition."[651] By offering Brienne and Jack advice on how to choose and prepare healthy food full of green vegetables and how to be good hosts, she proves to be one of those

[648] France Carroll, Personal Interview, Callander, ON., November 28, 2015.
[649] Rolande Rochefort, "Soupe," *Family Secrets*, Edited by Emily Weiskopf-Ball (2007).
[650] Rolande Rochefort, "Peach Can Crisp," *Family Secrets*, Edited by Emily Weiskopf-Ball (2007).
[651] Elizabeth McDougall, "Voices, Stories, and Recipes," *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 107.

recipe writers who hopes to "[prevent] a mistake that has been experienced by the writer from being passed on to the reader."[652] The kitchen, in this sense, is a space in which my grandmother's voice has authority and power. Although she likely did not realise it when she submitted her entries, cookbooks, especially family ones like these,

> [render] the invisible and transient – often thankless and taken-for-granted – work indelible, noticed, and worthy. Women [use] recipe books, these artifacts of everyday life, as forums for self-expression [where]… they [express] everything from pride and pleasure in their accomplishments to resentment, anger, and frustration with all that they [are] expected to do.[653]

Other cookbooks that I looked at during my research similarly show that recipe books pass on the message that the kitchen can be a place of enjoyment. In Micheline's case, her grandmother's recipe books are full of little jokes or sayings that make Micheline laugh or think when she leafs through them. Amanda, Jessica, Leantha, and Nathalie all have recipes that were written by older family members. Amanda's mother has similarly written in "des citations. Des farces. Des p'tites jokes qu['elle] écrivait sur la page."[654] These are valued and treasured possessions that my participants see as a link to those comforting moments they remember of their childhoods and that they want to share with their own families.

Since feminists advocating women's rights often believe that "the kitchen stands for a woman's mandatory duty once she says 'I do'"[655] and knowing that, to a large extent, women are still predominantly in the kitchen, I was interested to see how these ideas of gender equality translated into real time. From my participants' accounts, it does not seem that the women I interviewed have felt

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[652] McDougall, "Voices, Stories, and Recipes," 116.
[653] Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 146.
[654] Amanda Beaudry, Personal Interview, March 27, 2016.
[655] Arbaca, *Voices from the Kitchen*, 19.

oppressed by the task of cooking and/or of being in the kitchen. Moreover, their children and grandchildren have not perceived them that way either. In order to see if the theory matched the practice, I interviewed my participants making food.

In my past work, these culinary chats have proven instrumental. Whereas the semi-structured interview yielded important information, people were often much more comfortable, open, and willing to share when they were making the food they were discussing and using the space and tools I wanted to analyse rather than having them talk hypothetically about them. Twelve females made food for me: France made a partridge dinner; Lisa and Magali made Nova Scotia Cake; Jessica made poutine à framboise; Amanda, Christine, Coralie, Laurette, Marielle, and Megan made Christmas cookies; Megan also made spaghetti sauce; Natalie made Chipits Cake; and Carmen made tourtière. In most of these situations, the women had picked moments when their partners weren't home. When they were there, these males tended to stay out of the kitchen until the cooking or baking was done. There are a few important points that came up during the interviews related to women in the kitchen. Firstly, there is a certain amount of skill needed to make a recipe, especially a traditional one that is only made a few times a year. In the early stages of learning a recipe, it seems that the process is considered work. Yet, once women understand their recipes, they can alter them to make them their own. Once mastered, cooking becomes a form of personal expression and a way to exhibit one's creativity.

5.2.1 Understanding How Recipes Work and Adapting Them

Recipes are not original creations that spring into the mind at random. They come from knowing and understanding how food works. Many of my participants have mothers who enjoyed baking and cooking so much that they would read cooking books and magazines in their spare time.[656] These women then experimented with new recipes and ingredients garnering them reputations as being good cooks.

[656] Michel Perron, Carmen Weiskopf, and Lucie Laperrière.

Even those who did not necessarily talk of their mothers or grandmothers as big recipe readers talked about the tricks of the trade that these women had due to years of experience. One example of this is the gravy for the ragout that Laurette and Amanda and Yvette and Lisa talked about. Yvonne Buckner just seems to be able to make it perfectly every time and is also able to fix it when her daughters struggle with it.

Knowing a recipe means knowing how to anticipate and deal with problems as they arise. When filming Jessica make poutine à framboise, for example, she told me that "I can already tell I'll have too much cake mix probably."[657] Having made this and other cakes several times, she knows that with "the No Name cake mix… you get a lot more cake mix out of a package so you don't really realise but then you end up getting cake mix all over your oven."[658] Wanting to make the cake extra special for me, she had also put more raspberries than usual. Combined, the too much dough and extra berries made the cake take longer to bake than usual. Jessica recognised both these issues and worked with her cake to get it to the right consistency. She could tell, just by looking at it and by giving the pan a quick wiggle, whether or not it was ready. Like Jessica, Amanda, Christine, Carmen, France, Laurette, Lisa, and Natalie went about making their recipes with ease. Those who were making desserts did consult their recipes on numerous occasions but usually just to confirm that they had the right measurements.

Skill and ease come with experience, as was obvious when watching Coralie, Marielle, and Megan make their Christmas cookies. Having only made the recipe one time before, it was clear that they were still figuring things out. "You're the boss," Marielle told Coralie as they got started. "I'm the boss?" Coralie answered surprised, raising her eyebrows. "So you're gonna follow me?"[659] Whereas the women listed above consulted their recipes with quick glances, Coralie can be seen really reading and

[657] Jessica Perron, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 14, 2016.
[658] Jessica Perron.
[659] Marielle and Coralie Rochefort, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 16, 2016.

studying each step of her recipe. Though they told me that they do bake, in fact Marielle and Megan had made macaroons not long before our interview, it is clear from the way they checked and then double and triple checked their measurements and ingredients, that they are still learning. There was also a clear difference between the way Megan moved in the kitchen compared to Marielle and Coralie. Though these particular cookies were new to her as well, having been more involved in the kitchen as a child Megan seemed to have a natural flare for rolling them whereas the others struggled. Indeed, the two girls also deferred to her when they were having problems and asked her to help so their cookies would turn out. This is an important recipe for both Coralie and Marielle. In fact, Coralie tells me laughing that "si ma mère les f'raient pas, moi j'les f'raient. Ça s'rait pas Noël sans ces biscuits là. J'ai déjà dit ça [à ma mère.] 'Don't think about not making those cookies! I'm not coming home!'"[660] If Coralie and Marielle keep making the cookies, they will get better at making them from one year to the next. Despite some hesitation and issues, it is also clear that Coralie and Marielle know how to bake and understand how cookie recipes work because they could use their instincts, and each other, to make these cookies successfully. This is different than the chow chow recipe described in Chapter 4 which was, at times, too out of the ordinary to figure out and required a phone call to Lydia's grandmother.

Figuring out traditional recipes often does require support. Speaking of her spaghetti recipe, Megan explains that "y faut pas que tu cuis la viande avant. Mais je savais pas so je l'avais faite. Parc'que j'étais comme 'It's weird that you'd be putting raw meat.' Anyways... J'avais appelé ma tante… à dit, 'Oh non! T'es sensée mettre raw.' Anyways. J'pense ça va quand même être bon."[661] Carmen says the same thing about learning to make the traditional foods she loved as a child: "quand je me suis mariée puis c'était le temps d'faire des cipailles puis des beans, t'sais on appelait maman."[662] Like Megan and

[660] Coralie Rochefort.
[661] Megan Frédérick, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 16, 2016.
[662] Carmen Weiskopf.

Carmen, many other women call female family members for support. "[Q]uand j'ai commencé à faire des tourtières, ma sœur plus vielle est v'nue m'montrée comment faire des tourtières. Parc'qu'elle avait appris probablement de l'autre plus vielle… Qui avait appris de l'autre plus vielle,"[663] Laurette tells me laughing. Unlike her own mother who did not have a telephone when she was first married, Laurette's generation, and the women after her, could get easy access to tips and help over the phone. By turning to family members rather than outside sources, these earlier generations of women consequently kept traditional recipes looking and tasting like their family members'.

Before beginning this project, I was sure that women had been given more responsibility in the kitchens of their childhood than they clearly got. This assumption surely stems from my own childhood since my mother baked a lot with us. Yet, as my sister Lydia points out, though we did a lot of baking, we did not do a lot of cooking. Today, she is not as comfortable with meat, for example, as others might be. I also feel this way. As children, our daily dinners consisted of a meat, a starch, and some type of vegetable. The meat changed from day to day but my mother usually came home and started it before we got off the school bus. Since my own mother is cautious about bacteria, she has instilled a certain amount of fear in me about proper meat handling and internal cooking temperatures. These contrasting experiences, baking versus cooking, have shaped the cook I am today. I have only really become comfortable with cooking meat because of my husband. A point I will discuss in the next section.

If, even today, women are not learning to cook from their mothers, and, they tell me, they are getting their advice from websites like Pinterest and YouTube, I wonder what impact that will have on traditional foodways. It is true, as cookbook scholars have demonstrated, that cooking and recipe collecting has always been a social, communal experience. Women, and men, adapt their foodways and cooking styles to meet the expectations of the worlds in which they live. Yet, recipes online can vary

[663] Laurette Dégagné.

from being simple and straightforward with few spices to fancy and complex with all sorts of exotic and/or expensive ingredients. This is an important issue for traditional foodways if people care about authenticity. A tarte à farlouche, Rhéal showed me, had but a few ingredients when he was a boy. Today, online, it has double the ingredients. These very different versions of what is ultimately a raisin pie remind us, as discussed in Chapter 4, that the recipes we make say a lot about who we want to be. If we turn to the Internet and fancy-up our traditional foods, we show those who eat what we make that we care about the fancy. When we stop calling our relatives for help or tips, we, as we saw with gardening in Chapter 4, we miss out on important stories and personal connections to our foodways. People have always turned to outside sources for recipes and inspiration and, of course, we live in a modern world with instant access to information that can help us out when we struggle. However, it is also important to recognise the personal connections that exist with some of these foods so we do not lose them.

Cooking also comes with a certain amount of trial and error. If Coralie and Marielle had a hard time rolling the dough, it is because it was a little too dry and also because they need to practice their technique. Next time they make these cookies, they will have this experience as a reference point. "Des p'tites erreurs que tu fais… tu fais seulement qu'une fois,"[664] Aline Coote says of the dumplings she forgot to put baking powder in and the chicken she forgot to empty before cooking. When one starts off, one does not necessarily know these little things or realise the importance of certain ingredients for the overall success of the recipe. Indeed, like Laurette says, many will learn "sur le champs."[665] This is also because even when they do call their mothers for recipes, they get instructions like "[à] peu près une tasse de ça. À peu près une pincé d'sel. À peu près que qu'chose d'autre. À peu près. B'en oui!"[666]

[664] Aline Coote, Personal Interview, Corbeil, ON., November 30, 2016.
[665] Laurette Dégagné.
[666] Laurette Dégagné.

Frustrated by this lack of detail, it is no wonder that people turn to other, more complete sources of information.

What is also clear though is that even if they weren't actually making food with their mothers, these women were watching them work. Many told me they had learned to cook through "osmosis"[667] by watching older women bake and cook. They left home knowing what a roast looks like, how to boil water, how to peel vegetables, and the basic steps for cookies and cakes. But they only really became comfortable and happy with the food they serve their families first through "trial and error"[668] and then, as Natasha explains, by giving the food she makes a personal twist that has been inspired by the information she has gathered from other sources:

> Growing up watching women of the family make them and then sort of tweaking them based on um knowledge that I would get from the Food Network. And trial and error with different flavours and different meats and stuff… I'd always be making something and then tasting it and being, "Wow! That's terrible!" or "Oh! That kind of worked out." Like with turkey and chicken… I would put garlic and herbs and stuff like that under the skin… and a little bit of butter so that the skin gets really crispy but it stays super moist whereas my mom will just put water and put it in the oven. S'not adding any flavour at all. You know you're just eating bland chicken.[669]

Creativity and personal expression take many forms. When making Chipits cake, for example, Natalie explains that she usually splits the recipe in half. Because she cannot send nut products to school with her daughter and since the recipe calls for almond flavouring, she makes one half without. In doing so, Natalie does not compromise her experience and is able to also keep the tradition alive. Some people

[667] Carmen Weiskopf; Natasha Krauss, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., March 27, 2016; Lisa Loeffen and Nathalie Boucher, Personal Interview, Osgoode, ON., April 9, 2016.
[668] France Carroll, Lydia Weiskopf-Tran, and Jessica Perron, Personal Interview, December 6, 2015.
[669] Natasha Krauss.

consider making a cake from scratch to be a lot of work and the work deters them from baking altogether. Natalie agrees that baking takes time but rather than giving up on homemade cakes, she has found time-saving systems, like prepping her ingredients the night before, to allow her to still make the foods that she loves. Stacy makes the same comment about homemade food and time during her interview. "[I]f I'm making this casserole," she tells me, "I'll automatically double it and I make two. And I'll cook both, pull one out early, have this for supper. The other one goes in the freezer. Because with kids' schedules it's just so nice to be able to say, 'Oh! Grab the cabbage casserole out of the freezer.' Or, 'Grab the lasagna out of the freezer.' It's just so easy."[670] Growing up in our family, one time-saving dinner my mother would make for us was a something she called a "fancy" dinner which, Lydia now realises, "is when you don't have time and you want to do something quick. Cottage cheese and wieners and pickles."[671] Such simple yet kid-friendly meals also demonstrate a level of creativity as they prove a person's resourceful use of ingredients to fit into the reality of a busy evening.

As with the tougher cuts of meat mentioned in Chapter 4, people have also adapted favourite recipes using modern technology like the crock pot. As Stacy says, "I've adapted. Like a normal casserole for the oven and I've just switched it up. Put it in the crock pot. See how it works out. Oh! It's good. And ready to go."[672] From these examples, we see that trial and error can lead to success, especially when individuals are supported. This applies to any food making experience and was also evident as I watched Laurette, Amanda, and Christine making Christmas cookies. Though each woman was in charge of her own batch of cookies, they worked together to get all the cookies made. This meant that they checked on each other's dough, moved each other's trays in and out of the oven, and took over one another's area when needed. The three women moved around each other easily without tension or conflict

[670] Stacy Dégagné, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., August 10, 2016.
[671] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.
[672] Stacy Dégagné.

sharing stories about their lives as they baked. In her research, Janet Theophano has argued that family or community cookbooks "might lure us into believing that all the women who [write] or contribute to one another's books [are] social equals… However, looking carefully into these kitchen artifacts, we discover clues that women [know] of the cultural and social difference among them."[673] In this scene, it is Laurette who keeps the pace going producing cookies faster than her daughters. However, Amanda and Christine stop to look after their children and to clean up. Overall, this is a scene of social equals – of mother and daughters working together to accomplish the common goal of making Christmas cookies.

5.2.2. Power in the Kitchen

If most of my female participants acknowledge they don't mind the fact that they do most of the day-to-day cooking, they also appreciate that taking someone else's eating styles and habits into consideration does, at times, cause some tension – especially if that person is a fussy eater. Critics argue that women often feel pressure to tailor their cooking styles and food choices to their husband's preferences. Sometimes, as in Theophano's account of a servant's present to her charge's future wife, this pressure comes from the husband's primary female caretaker.[674] Other times, as demonstrated by Charles and Kerr as well as Stephen Mennell, Anne Murcott, and Anneke von Otterloo,[675] this pressure is self-imposed and comes from a gendered belief that women should cater to their husbands. One thing that came up often in the interviews with people in those middle age cohorts is that, since either they or their partners were raised in homes with very basic recipes, introducing new spices or ingredients was often, initially, met with some resistance. "Oh oui," Laurette tells me of her husband Ray. "J'me rappelle avoir à 'chter des choses dans garbage… pas d'épices puis des choses que nous autre on mangeait à

[673] Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 35.
[674] Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 108-112.
[675] Nickie Charles and Marion Kerr, *Women, Food, and Families* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988) and Stephen Mennell, Anne Murcott and Anneke van Otterloo, "Food in the Division of Labour at Home" *Current Sociology* 40, no. 95 (1992), 94-111.

maison qu'y était, que lui était pas habitué à manger."[676] This conflict between past experiences and present expectations also affected Lisa in her first marriage when her husband told her that she was not cooking like his mother did. Lucie tells me that her husband doesn't like cheese. When they were first married, "c'était difficile pour moi de faire à manger sans mettre du fromage puis parfois j'en aurais mis un peu puis y aurait mangé la nourriture… y aurait pas chialé mais quand qu'y faisait la vaisselle, y inspectait les pots. Si y voyait une trace de fromage, je me l'faisait dire!"[677] She says this laughing but it is clear that, at the time, this was an issue the couple needed to resolve. Sylvie shares similar frustration when talking of cooking for her husband. While she could eat the same meal day after day, her partner wants more variety. "Alors j'essaye de faire des différentes choses. J'essaie des différentes recettes. So j'essaye. J'essaye,"[678] she tells me. Though she is trying, she doesn't really like cooking so despite accepting and assuming this role in their home, it certainly seems that this is not an activity that brings her joy.

Despite these struggles, it is clear from the way these women talk that they have a certain amount of power because of their role as the daily food maker. When I asked them if they had had to change the way they ate when they got married, many told me that they did not change – their partners did. This sometimes had to do with spices. Pat, for example, had never eaten garlic before in his life. Like his uncles Ray and Louis, Pat learned to eat spicier more varied foods by being exposed to them. In this sense then, women have the power to change foodways and eating patterns because they are the ones making dinner.

Another issue that women talked a lot about in their interviews was making sure that their partners ate healthy meals. This has meant working to eliminate bad habits in their husbands' diets. For

[676] Laurette Dégagné.
[677] Lucie Laperrière.
[678] Sylvie Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., September 21, 2016.

David and Laure, this was getting David to eat less salt and less meat. For Lisa, Lydia, Natasha, and Coralie, this has meant eliminating processed foods like baloney and pogos and cooking with healthier options like olive oil, brown pasta, or lentils. It is clear that their husbands do not always appreciate these dietary changes. Lisa shares, for example, that "de temps en temps j'vais acheter un peu de baloney. Comme traite puis y sont toute comme, 'Woohoo! Baloney!' Marcel parle y avait du jackpot au baloney quand qu'y était petit. C'était quelque chose que sa mère faisait. Puis [des soirs j'vais dire,] 'Fait ton souper. Fait c'que tu veux.' 'Ah! J'vais aller ach'té du baloney. J'vais faire un jackpot au baloney.'"[679] This "treat" then is permission granted, not an assumption.

In fact, that these changes are considered work is highlighted by the way both women and men speak of them. Lydia acknowledges that though Cody is better at eating these healthier foods, it's still "work needed."[680] Cody agrees that he's "trying." But part of this struggle to eat healthier, smaller meals, comes down to a body's needs. "Like you know a girl can just, I could just eat a piece of bread and a salad and I'd be happy," Lydia says. "But a man like, you know. And he is physical during the day or outside. So I enjoy having soup and tea biscuits…, you know once a week or something like that… but to him that's not a meal. Even if it has lentils in it and protein."[681] Cody echoes this sentiment when talking about their two boys saying that though he's supporting this healthier menu and "[t]rying to be more aware of, to eat right and properly, [but] portion-wise, I mean, they're boys. They're gonna eat what they're gonna eat… But, uh, you know, just trying to eat healthier I think. Be a little more aware of that and trying to introduce it the right way. Hope that works… challenging at times because they're young…

[679] Lisa Loeffen.
[680] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.
[681] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran. This is reminiscient of Mary Douglas' important work "Deciphering a Meal" in which she shows that meals structure behaviour and expectations. Soup and tea biscuits can be seen here as unacceptable because they do not correspond to Cody's definition of a "good" or "appropriate" meal. See Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997), 44-53.

A little more aware now. As a parent."[682] As the ones traditionally most often with their babies, mothers have the power to shape their children's eating habits since they are the ones making the food decisions from the time they are born. Stacy, for example, shares that her children, unlike her husband, have been eating garlic since they started on solid food. She never bought any baby food choosing instead to puree the rest of their dinner.

Lisa's story about baloney suggests that women have the power to give up their spot in the kitchen and their authority on food when they want to. Lydia shows the same sort of power when she shares that Cody will often make dinner when she tells him they're "having lentils, or beans for dinner."[683] If men do not like what they are being served, they have the option to make dinner themselves but, more often than not, it appears they adjust their expectations as was the case in Megan's home: "mon père, définitivement y aime pas comme certaines choses que ma mère aime. Comme y aime pas vraiment le pâté chinois. Mais on l'mangeait quand même puis comme la salade. On mangeait beaucoup de salade avec beaucoup de légumes puis des légumes que mon père aime pas comme céleri puis du blé d'inde."[684]

5.3. Male Cooks

A few years ago, I presented at Nipissing University on the topic of gender and foodways. I was arguing there, as I am here, that men not only can, and do, cook good food but that they also care about using food to connect with others and to show that they care. After my presentation, one of the audience members spoke up to say that we should be careful about how much attention we pay to male influences in the kitchen. To focus on them too much would be to devalue the work that women do. This comment reminded me of a statement I had heard made by a member of a group interview about

[682] Cody Tran, Personal Interview, Chisholm, ON., January 12, 2016.
[683] Lydia Weiskopf-Tran.
[684] Megan Frédérick.

women, work, and breastfeeding I had been part of a year earlier. During our conversation, one woman said that she didn't want to stop breastfeeding because it was the one thing she "owned." Rather than pumping or supplementing so her partner could help her, she maintained that breastfeeding was the one thing a woman can do that a man can't and she wanted to follow that through as long as possible.

The belief that women "own" the right to decide how to feed and comfort a family reminded me of the early developments in the study of gender history. Indeed, in the early stages of this field of study, scholars debated many of its founding principles. Not all historians believe that studying the interaction between men and women is the best way to understand and celebrate female experiences and realities. At the time, Joan Sangster, for example, was concerned that by focusing on individuals rather than communities of women, historians would lose their political edge. [685] While Sangster concedes in both "Beyond Dichotomies: Re-Assessing Gender History and Women's History in Canada" and "Reconsidering Dichotomies" that gender history is beneficial to racial minorities, she opposed the importance and place historians give to a method that, in her opinion, is far less political and whose post-structuralist priorities value individuality over community. She fears that by being less political, gender history risks silencing women. Perhaps evident through Sangster's criticism of gender history, is women's historians' use of binary oppositions, such as private/public, submissive/resistant, and good/bad, to study the hierarchical relationship between men and women. These historians work from an assumption that men and women are biologically and emotionally different and that they have different roles.

While binaries do exist in society and are a good place to begin, Joy Parr argues that traditional binaries "obstruct our view of the living space beyond"[686] them thus clouding our view of the reality we

[685] Joan Sangster, "Beyond Dichotomies: Re-Assessing Gender History and Women's History in Canada" *left history* 3, 1 (Spring/Summer 1995): 109- 121 and Joan Sangster, "Reconsidering Dichotomies" *left history* 3.2&4.1 (fall 1995/spring 1996), 239-248.
[686] Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950.* (University of Toronto Press, 1990), 8.

are trying to get at. As in her article "Gender History and Historical Practice," Parr demands in *The Gender of Breadwinners* that historians be mindful of what they are "expecting[,] [w]hat [their] eye has been taught to see[, and] [w]hat is [t]here, that [one's] specification of the problem might lead [one] to dismiss."[687] If we expect to find women in the kitchen, for example, we may forget to ask men about their involvement in this space. Thus we might miss an opportunity to understand how food-making constitutes a negotiation between individuals and their personal philosophies in a home. Moving past dichotomies to focus on experience allows researchers to capture "the actual workings of this interaction"[688] between people and the gendered expectations and identities society imposes on them.

In reaction to Sangster's claims that gender history silences women, Parr and other gender historians such as Franca Iacovetta, Linda Kealey, Karen Dubinsky, and Lynne Marks[689] have argued that studying men and masculinity "will not contribute to masculine hegemony, it will help to undermine it"[690] because it seeks to breakdown how masculinity really works. In fact, they believe that "[p]utting questions that tolerate specificity and diversity as answers is not to deny the existence of hierarchy or politics. It is rather a way to begin to craft explanations that more fully comprehend both the access to power and the grounds upon which this access, successfully and unsuccessfully, has been challenged."[691]

In paying attention to male contributions in the kitchen, some may be afraid that we are potentially glorifying their contribution in a way that ignores the autonomy and power that has long belonged to females. However, one cannot deny that men are now more and more present in the kitchen. Acknowledging male contribution in this space is not to relegate women to the backburner or

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[687] Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," *The Canadian Historical Review*, (76 (3) September 1995. University of Toronto Press Incorporated), 354-376.
[688] Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 8.
[689] Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," 354-376; Franca Iacovetta and Linda Kealey, "Women's History, Gender History and Debating Dichotomies," *left history* 3.2 & 4.1 (Fall 1995/Spring 1996): 221-237, and Karen Dubinsky and Lynne Marks, "Beyond Purity: A Response to Sangster" *left history* 3.2 & 4.1 (Fall 1995/Spring 1996): 205-220.
[690] Dubinksy and Marks, "Beyond Purity: A Response to Sangster" *left history* 3.2 & 4.1 (Fall 1995/Spring 1996), 217.
[691] Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 231.

ignore them. Rather, it is useful to see how men and women operate differently in this space and how they use it as a way to teach their children about important values. In fact, scholars such as Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo highlight that academic interest is often too narrow because it relies on stereotypes. They argue that if men's participation in food making has not been documented in the academic community, it is quite likely because "investigations… persist in casting their questions as 'who does the cooking' [and therefore] are very likely to persist in getting the answer 'the women.'"[692] The issue, Murrell et al. insist, is that even in oral history projects with female participants, researchers "[persist] in missing the opportunity even to begin to penetrate the complex relation between the attribution of shared meanings and the actual distribution of labour, never mind the place of both in the overall political economy of the household."[693]

If cookbooks teach young girls that they are to be the ones cooking, as Sherrie Inness' analysis of children's and adolescents' cookbooks has shown, they have historically also taught boys that they need to learn to cook only to prepare for emergencies or special situations.[694] This aspect of male involvement in cooking certainly came up with men of the older age cohorts when talking about their fathers. Though Bernard and Rhéal do not remember their fathers being involved in making food on a daily basis, they do acknowledge that their fathers had their specialty foods that they did make. Rhéal, for example, shares that it was always his father who made sucre à crème. "J'me rappelle pas avoir mangé d'la sucre à crème qui a pas été préparé par mon père. Y nous faisait une traite. Puis lui y avait appris ça parc'que quand y demeurait chez ses parents, y bûchait du bois puis y s'apportait toujours, y leur donnait du sucre durant la s'maine… y adorait nous faire d'la sucre à crème."[695] Rhéal also remembers that, on Fridays, his father

[692] Stephen Mennell, Anne Murcott, and Anneke van Otterloo, "Food in the Division of Labour at Home," *Current Sociology* 40 (1992), 102.
[693] Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo, "Food in the Division of Labour at Home," 102.
[694] Sherrie Inness, *Dinner Rolls: American Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001).
[695] Rhéal Perron.

"y s'faisaient une partie d'tire."[696] Associating special, father-made food with work done outdoors also comes up in Bernard's interview when he shares that his father would bring a frying pan to cook pork chops or steak and potatoes over an open fire when they were out cutting wood.

Importantly, both men have continued these traditions. When I interviewed him, Rhéal had already organised himself to make a partie de sucre for his grandchildren; a treat they often request and that he is happy to prepare. It is clear, from the way he talks about this nearly weekly ritual, that it brings him a lot of joy. Sharing these happy food moments was also evident in Bernard's interview when he told me about cooking pork chops and potatoes over a fire with Rolande when they would go skiing. That these were good times spent together as a couple was evident in the interviews with my mother and Pauline as they remember their parents going on these excursions and coming home relaxed and content. While Bernard's example may seem to support Inness' reading of childhood cookbooks, after all his father had to cook because he was out in the bush, there is a difference here between this being an emergency situation and a personal preference. It would surely have been possible for him to have brought a packed lunch – the way Aline and her family did when they went hunting. Rhéal's father, similarly, did not need to bring sucre à crème, he wanted to and so made it happen. In these examples we therefore see men using their knowledge and food preparation skill to eat what they want. Though working outside was not an option for them, they clearly controlled at least part of what they were eating while they were out there.

The same habit of males organising meals for men is evident in stories about the hunt camp. In our own family, my husband takes charge of planning what they will eat for the week-long moose hunt. He buys all the groceries, prepares all the meals, and cooks it all when they get there. At the Perron hunt camp, Jean-Pierre confirms, it's has long been his uncle who is charge of cooking. More recently, his

[696] Rhéal Perron.

cousin Ryan has taken over.[697] While I am not sure how much influence the women in their families may have on the planning and preparation of the food that is consumed there, it is clear from Rhéal's interview that at least some of the ownership is on the male since it was his brother who decided to make a ragout using traditional means rather than a more modern, perhaps more popular, ingredient like meat balls.[698]

It should be noted that if my husband is in charge of the food at camp without any help or influence from my part, this was not the case before he came into the picture. Before Will, my mother had a large role to play in the menu. The same is still true of the many camping trips my father has taken over the years. He may have decided what they would eat but it is my mother who buys the groceries and then organises them so they will be easy to pack. Out in the woods, I have seen my father make good food over the campfire. He is especially proud of his cross-hatched toast, which takes skill and patience. Cooking over an open fire has certainly been a manly endeavour in the homes of many of my participants. Patates à gallettes, for example, is a food that came up in all of the interviews I conducted with the Dégagnés. Fried on a wood stove or over an open fire, these potatoes were usually cooked by the fathers and were a special treat at the ice shack, the camp, or on the woodstove on Friday nights.

These cooking situations may be described as special circumstances because they are outside of the norms of daily life. In my past work, I have referred to them as "stunts," a term I took from Manny Howard's essay "Stunt Foodways" where he describes the many elaborate cooking escapades he had accomplished over the years.[699] A "stunt," according to the *Cambridge English Dictionary*, is "an exciting action, usually in a film, that is dangerous or appears dangerous and usually needs to be done by

[697] Jean-Pierre Perron.
[698] Rhéal Perron.
[699] Manny However, "Stunt Foodways," *Man with a Pan: Culinary Adventures of Fathers Who Cook for Their Families*," ed. John Donohue (Chapel Hill, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2011), 34-41.

someone skilled."[700] In these examples, the danger comes from the open flame and the excitement comes from them being out of the ordinary; as pushing on stereotypical ideas and expected gender norms.

That male involvement in the daily chore of making food has been gradual stems from the historical possibilities that have limited their ability to engage in an activity that has been labeled feminine. In the wake of the chaos and instability caused by the Second World War, Christopher Dummitt explains in *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada*, Canadian men were generally eager to reaffirm patriarchal control of the family and the economy.[701] Whereas previous eras privileged men who earned a living through physical force, a stark dichotomy emerged here between working-class men who risked their lives doing dangerous jobs and higher class, intellectual experts who took risks from behind their desks. This modernity, Dummitt argues, dampened men's "allegedly primal masculinity."[702] In this era, Canadians were nervous about men engaging in feminine activities such as cooking and went to great lengths to gender activities like outdoor cooking as a way for men to reconnect with their past, primal, meat-eating, open-flame cooking selves. Barbeques were thus one place where men could entertain their interest in cooking.[703] From my interviews, it is not evident that barbequing was something men loved to do. Rather, it seems to be the job they were given to help with dinner. Yet there is some truth to the notion that it is man's role and area of expertise since barbequing is still, largely, the man's responsibility for most of my participants.[704] André certainly reveals this way of thinking when he says that, "[n]ous autre c'est mon père [qui] faisait le barbeque. Dangereux."[705] In fact,

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[700] "stunt, n." Cambridge English Dictionary Online. Accessed July 6, 2017. http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/stunt
[701] Christopher Dummit, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 2.
[702] Dummit, *The Manly Modern*, 5.
[703] See Christopher Dummit, Finding a Place for Father: Selling the Barbecue in Postwar Canada," *Journal of Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la société historique du Canada* vol. 9, no. 1 (1998): 209-223.
[704] Carmen Weiskopf, Lucie Laperrière, and Sylvie Laperrière.
[705] André Laperrière, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., January 9, 2016.

this is still Patrick's philosophy. In his twenties and just married last summer, he admits that looking after the meat, "actually j'pense c'est juste comme, méchant de le dire mais, plus comme quelque chose qu'un homme ferait. Spécialement comme le barbeque. You just feel a little manlier cooking on the barbeque than cooking on the stove, I guess. Mais… des fois Megan va faire le barbeque. À sais comment, for sure, puis j'pense qu'elle aime ça. Puis j'pense aussi que pour elle elle aime juste me donner comme le steak puis, 'Handle this and don't screw it up,' t'sais.'"[706]

Barbequing is not the only way men have demonstrated an interest in cooking. Rhéal shares that for him, cooking was his way to unwind after a long week of work. The same is evident in Rhéaume's case since his weekend projects have long involved making food, like homemade pasta and pizza, that takes a lot of time. Danny shares that "I'd say I cook probably 70 to 75 percent of the time. And not because Natalie can't cook or she doesn't want to. Simply because I love to cook."[707] In his introduction to *Man with a Pan: Culinary Adventures of Fathers Who Cook for Their Families*, John Donohue asserts that "[m]en who cook for their families are more likely to be happy than those who don't"[708] and that "[n]ight after night, when [he] whipped up something delicious that pleased Sarah and fed Aurora and Isis, [he] felt like [he] was doing something so right that [he] couldn't possibly go wrong."[709] This sentiment, one usually expressed by women who feel not only "personal gratification and pride [but also]… appreciated and valorized by everyone gathered around the table,"[710] is echoed in a number of the other essays in Donohue's anthology and by many of my male participants. Cody, for example, tells me that "I think I enjoy making meals that I like. And also that everybody else enjoys." He also likes being

[706] Patrick Rochefort, Personal Interview, Astorville, ON., June 24, 2016.
[707] Danny Harris, Personal Interview, Ottawa, ON., January 17, 2016.
[708] John Donohue, "Introduction," *Man with a Pan: Culinary Adventures of Fathers Who Cook for Their Families*, Edited by John Donohue (Chapel Hill, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2011), 6.
[709] Donohue, "Introduction," 4.
[710] Sonia Cancian, "'*Tutti a Tavola!*' Feeding the Family in Two Generations of Italian Immigrant HOuseholds in Montreal," in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 210.

in control of the meal: "You know. If you don't like it, don't eat it. Just straight. Vice versa and it goes both ways."[711] Despite not being involved in the kitchen, my father has expressed the same feeling about the tea biscuits he makes on weekends. What started for him as a stunt – an occasional treat for my mom – has become a way for him to connect with others through food.

Women, like Lisa, make it clear that they appreciate these contributions. When she says that "ça ça va être un beau souvenir, une belle tradition pour elle... Chaque occasion c'est Magali et Papa qui fait les gâteaux. Parc'que papa est bon à faire des gâteaux,"[712] it is evident that she sees this time together in the kitchen as a way for father and child to bond. If women leave a legacy of themselves in their written recipes, in some families it is obvious that men do too. With a higher rate of divorce today than before, moreover, men often have no choice but to assume the role of family cook and can become the model their children follow when they start their own lives outside the home. This is exactly what has happened with Jessica whose father showed her "how to do a lot of things."[713] In charge of making food for her siblings when her father was away, she remembers that "for the first little bit the only things I could make was that Lipton Chicken Noodle Soup and grilled cheese so we ate that for an entire summer… But he showed me how to skin fish and cook it and pretty much everything I know. Even my recipe book is like 'Dad's Tomatoes,' 'Dad's Pickles,' 'Dad's Shepherd's Pie,' 'Dad's Pea Soup.' Like all these things… I still call him, 'How do you do this again?'"[714]

Another example is my father's contribution to my cousin's wedding-present recipe book. Having told me I could include his tea biscuit recipe, I typed out the version my mother and I use from the *Five Roses: A Guide to Good Cooking*. When I showed him the final version of the book, he adamantly told me

[711] Cody Tran.
[712] Lisa Loeffen.
[713] Jessica Perron.
[714] Jessica Perron, December 6, 2015.

that I had not listed the right ingredients. Rather than let me give the "wrong" recipe, he made changes with a ballpoint pen right on the embellished page. For him this is a recipe with which he is associated and through which his authentic identity can be evoked. Here he proves that "[m]aking food is not solving the puzzle of the recipe; it is the intersection of a text with a reader that leads to an understanding and a finished product specific to the reader."[715] Rather than letting his authentic self be silenced by a generic recipe, his corrections make sure he is not only visible as a person who makes food but also that this is an accurate representation of himself. While many cookbooks have celebrated women's ways of creating feminine identity, others, such as Jessica's and Brienne's, challenge our ideas of feminine space and work. Within these pages, these men are able to "cross boundaries of race, class, religion, and generation [to]… cement relationships fostered in daily life. It is one way to signal and affirm affiliation"[716] between themselves as male cooks and their family members. Men, it is clear, also care about serving good food that their families and others will enjoy. Rhéal, for example, makes numerous modifications to his dinners so that people will eat them. For example,

> Faire un cipaille… Il y a à peu près personne dans ma famille qui mange ça. Trop gras à cause d'la pâte. Alors moi je réduis à une pâte. Chez nous y avait trois pâtes. Deuxièmement, si j'le fais y faut que j'mets à moitié poulet. Puis c'était toute d'la viande sauvage dans l'ancien temps. Alors c'est toute une transformation qui est correcte. Mais quand j'les invite pour souper y faut que j'les demande ce qu'ils aiment manger là. Un rôti d'bœuf ça passe assez bien. Parc'que tout l'monde mangeait ça là. Roti d'lard, y veulent pas en entendre parler. Des spaghettis y mangent quand y a pas d'autre choses à manger en haut. Y veulent pas ça pour souper en fin d'semaine. Du poulet. Mais eux autre y préfèrent des poitrines de poulet là, pas d'os puis ça goute à rien tant qu'à moi mais y veulent pas d'poule… Puis là, b'en, j't'ai pour leur faire une tarte au sucre…

[715] McDougall, "Voices, Stories, and Recipes," 114.
[716] Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 41.

mais non y avaient ach'té un gâteau là, ça d'épais là, une grosse assiette avec des dessins dessus là.[717]

When they are present in the kitchen, it is evident that males influence their children's cooking styles and food choices. Natasha, for example, claims that her ability to creatively amalgamate recipes into a product she is happy with comes from "seeing my dad, the way he cooked. Like he never really followed a recipe. He just kind of would read it briefly and then just do his own thing. So when I went to school… I wasn't afraid to experiment. Because I saw my dad do that, like not be afraid to try spices or try different combinations."[718] Indeed, having a male role model shows boys that they belong in the kitchen too. Michel's father is a good example of this. Though he realises his father was "très avant-gardiste, [pour] lui c'était aucunement une affronte à sa masculinité d'aller faire des r'pas puis faire des déjeuners… même quand on était adolescent, on s'levait avec lui et on s'faisait à déjeuner… Et si j'fais le transfert maintenant. Moi, quand je me suis marié… j'faisais les r'pas aussi."[719] Rhéal's claim that he had a large influence on his and his wife's kitchen which has translated into his own son being responsible for the majority of the foodmaking in his own home. When male models are not available, men do not hesitate to turn to the female experts who make the foods they like. For Cody then, learning to cook came from "[j]ust being around it. Seeing my dad… Watched my mom, my sister… I think what intrigued me, sounds funny, was my dad when he cooked. He's not. Wasn't common, right?... Watching my little sister cook… Learnt a lot from her actually."[720] Like Cody, David and Pascal both called home when they left for school to ask their mothers how to make certain foods. It also means learning about food from others: "after we got married I realized, well, tried a bunch of different recipes. Cooking with Lydia.

[717] Rhéal Perron.
[718] Natasha Krauss.
[719] Michel Perron.
[720] Cody Tran.

Trying to get familiar with things and learning. Certain meals I liked in a restaurant. I, so, I can make that! Let's try that. TV. Watching the master chefs. Let's try this!"[721]

When I was working on my MA project, I had sent part of my father's transcript to my supervisor so she could see the sort of data I had been collecting and how I was coding it. She wrote back marveling at how much my father knew about the recipes he was describing. I remember that, at the time, I had also been impressed by his knowledge. How was it that someone who never made anything other than tea biscuits and the odd batch of pretzels knew the inner workings of the recipes he ate as a child? Part of that answer can be explained the same way that it makes sense that women learn to cook even if they are not directly involved in making food during their childhood. While they are not actually participating in the process, they are watching it and internalising the necessary skills. Thus learning to cook starts, as Michel explains, "à r'garder les autre," but eventually, "c'est en essayant des choses. Puis aujourd'hui avec l'internet b'en si tu cherches quelque chose b'en c'est vite faite. Tu fouilles puis t'as dix recettes… J'ai quand même une recette de base que j'pourrais passer à quelqu'un… et puis après ça tu l'ajustes au gout."[722] Like women, men learn to cook through trial and error. As Eric says about learning to barbeque, "I burnt a lot of things."[723] When people experiment on their own, they sometimes learn to like recipes they didn't like as children. This is the case for Michel who hated fish as a boy but who now has secrets he's acquired, like with fish, which he'll let soak in "l'eau un peu et puis du jus d'citron pour à peu près 10 minutes puis ça enlève toute le gout poissonneux."[724] In Patrick's case, his love of barbequed foods prompted him to get a barbeque in his second year of university and to experiment with different recipes. Though he's still nervous about cooking chicken because he worries about salmonella, during his interview where he made barbequed chicken and peppers, he certainly proved he is very competent on

[721] Cody Tran.
[722] Michel Perron.
[723] Eric Roy.
[724] Michel Perron.

the grill. He did not have a recipe but rather seasoned and dressed the dinner through his evident experience.

Just as the culinary chats with women proved different levels of expertise and experience, so too did the various men show that time and practice make a difference in one's ability to make a recipe successfully. Just as Jessica knew her cake recipe well enough to adjust her cooking time based on the changes she has made to her ingredients, Danny cooked without a recipe, adjusting spices by taste and adding water or changing the heat based on what he could see, hear, and smell. He knew where all the required tools were located and cleaned up when he was done without help.

For his interview, Rhéaume had tried a new pizza dough recipe – one that required a sponge starter. The dough was not working out well. It was hard to roll and stretch. Recognising this with the first few balls, he took proactive measures to help the rest loosen up by taking it all out of the fridge. Though clearly disappointed with the recipe, claiming on numerous occasions that he should stay with his tried and tested recipe, he nevertheless methodically and patiently slapped, pushed, and stretched each pizza crust. Like Danny, Rhéaume was completely in charge of his space finding the tools he needed and prepping and stoking the pizza oven.

Rhéaume's interview in the outdoor kitchen helps highlight that cooking can be a male hobby that creates an occasion for a gathering and the kitchen can be venue in which men gather. During our interview, all the male guests arriving at the pizza party came directly to the outdoor kitchen while all the women went inside where my aunt had set the tables we would eat at and where she had laid out appetizers. As the men came into the outdoor kitchen, they talked first about the dough and then what was happening in their lives. In what would eventually become a male-only space, we see that kitchens where men are cooking attract others and create communities as much as they do when women are at the controls.

Danny and Rhéaume's interviews contrast with David's. Like Coralie and Marielle, it is evident that David is not yet completely familiar with his Käse Spätzle recipe. He can be seen studying his piece of paper and he pauses the interview at times to ask me questions about measurements. While there is a chance that my questions were distracting him, these pauses and uncertainties show he is still learning. David also got flustered throughout the interview. Having initially decided to cut the recipe in half, he forgets and actually makes a full batch thus needing to send Laure to the store for more cheese and causing him to struggle with the consistency of the dough. Like Marielle and Coralie, however, it is also clear that David knows what he is looking for in the final product. Indeed, this has become his signature version of a recipe we both grew up with. "We grew up with Spätzle on the German side for all family gatherings," he shares. When he and Laure travelled to Toblauch, they "tried Käse Spätzle which is essentially German noodle but layered with sautéed fried onions and like an Emmantaler cheese. And we really like it. More than the standard Spätzle. And we started making that."[725] Today it "represents something that [they]'ve made… quite a few times. Not every month. But definitely a few times a year."[726]

Today, of course part of men's presence in the kitchen stems from a need to be there. With more and more women working outside the home, men have not had a choice but to take over this task. With time, they, like women, develop food routines and recipes that can be considered their signatures. For my husband and I, for example, I can almost guarantee that if I'm not home Will will prepare either pork chops and fries, sausage and fries, or breaded chicken and fries and he might throw in an extra side or some cut up cucumbers. Micheline shares that growing up, her father's dinners were so routine that she knew exactly what they would be eating every night of the week. For Nathalie, it was her father who made "des stir fries. C'est lui qui faisait des chicken à la king. C'est lui qui faisait des recettes un peu plus

[725] David Weiskopf.
[726] David Weiskopf.

différentes. Puis mom à faisait des traditions."[727] If women like my mother can come up with fun, fast food options to feed their kids on busy nights and will compromise health concerns because they need to get children fed, so too do men. Marielle, for example, says they ate a lot of popcorn for supper with their dad.

The more men participate actively in the kitchen, the more they influence the generations that come after them. With time, it is already evident, the "dumb stereotypes in our hidden brains"[728] that tell us that only women cook in the home will disappear for good. Cooking, like anything else in life, is a task that some love and some don't. Loving it or hating it does not depend on one's gender but one's comfort and interest in the task. If men don't like and/or are not good at cooking, it is sometimes not because they don't try, as Jessica says of her husband, "[t]here's a lot of things that he tries. It's just 'cause he, he's never done it before. He doesn't have that practice."[729] This, in the end is no different than women who are still trying to make cooking work for them. In relation to traditional foods, we must therefore acknowledge that men have their own traditions and they do share these with others. Though their contributions may not always be in the kitchen, these foods nevertheless exhibit creativity, a joy for eating good food, and an interest in sharing good times with others.

5.4. Negotiating the Menu and the Kitchen Space

If women have had an impact on their husbands' food habits, women have also adapted their own by adopting some of the practices their husbands brought with them into their marriages. This is especially true of those couples where the partner comes from a different ethnicity. In my mother's case, for example, she found that my father's German food "était vraiment bonne puis j'ai faite beaucoup de leurs recettes. Comme les rouladens puis Oma faisait cuire son porc un peu différent. Son poulet un peu

[727] Nathalie Boucher.
[728] Shankar Vedantam, "The Hidden Brain: Gender and Cooking," *Man with a Pan: Culinary Adventures of Fathers Who Cook for Their Families,* ed. John Donohue (Chapel Hill, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2011), 81.
[729] Jessica Perron, December 6, 2015.

différent. Alors non j'ai beaucoup aimé leur nourriture. Y mangeait certaine choses comme des Herring puis des choses que j'aime pas mais leur gâteau puis toutes ces choses-là c'est vraiment bon."[730] Lisa remembers her mother doing the same. Yvette grew kale and red cabbage in their garden to be able to make the foods her husband liked. Laure explains that David "showed me all these recipes I didn't know about and more like also traditional recipes… I didn't grow up having tea biscuits on the weekend, you know. And so that was something we started doing together and really enjoyed. Even like Käse Spätzle or Spätzle in general. Or like Schnitzel… I guess just more traditional things that I wasn't used to. Sort of nice addition."[731] For Coralie this has meant "plus de barbeque depuis que j'suis avec Dominique… Y aime beaucoup le barbeque."[732]

For France and Leantha, this has meant learning to cook the wild meat brought home during hunting season. For France, these were foods she had eaten on occasion as a child but that had not been part of their regular diet. Men can also influence healthy eating. Indeed, for Amanda, eating healthier comes from her husband's side of the family. "Grand-maman a toujours fait nos sandwiches avec du beurre," she says, "mais Carl y ne met pas de beurre sur ses sandwiches. Donc on a arrêté de mettre du beurre sur nos sandwich. On fait beaucoup plus attention… comme du montant de gras dans sa nourriture. Le montant de sel qu'on mange. On fait bien attention à ça qui est pas de mon idée."[733]

How women cook is also changed by the technique and knowledge their husbands bring with them. I, as mentioned previously, am much more comfortable cooking with meat than before because of Will. His own mother knew her cuts of meat well and could cook even tough cuts without drying them out. With Natalie and Danny, Danny explains that "with my upbringing and the way I cook I just free

[730] Carmen Weiskopf.
[731] Laure Larocque, Personal Interview, North Bay, ON., October 11, 2016.
[732] Coralie Rochefort.
[733] Amanda Beaudry.

hand everything. I don't measure anything. Um. And I'm a bit more experienced in terms of using various spices and cooking techniques as opposed to Natalie. But she's come a long way. Like we've [been] together for like 14 years so she's sort of learned too going along."[734] Natalie agrees that Danny's technique means that they eat differently than she did as a child. "T'sais ma mère un beau souper ça prenait du temps. Comme un BEAU souper pas un souper régulier, ça prenait du temps puis tu suivais une recette puis. Danny peut faire un BEAU souper super fast sans recette. Y est juste comme tshuktshucktshuck. So on mange des beau soupers plus souvent."[735]

The women I interviewed also conceded that though there are some things they can get their husbands to eat, there have also been limits to the amount of influence they can have. Thus, some have chosen to remove problematic ingredients or meals from their culinary practices. For example, Lucie explains that, "[c]'était plus facile éventuellement, avec le temps, de juste pas mettre de fromage."[736] Lydia's Meatless Mondays or soup for supper might be gaining some traction with Cody, but they aren't necessarily popular. Ideas of good or appropriate food definitely serve to structure these individuals' behaviours in their kitchens. With my husband, for example, it is also clear that serving him soup for supper is not an appropriate dinner – especially if he has just been outside doing physical work.

Feminist scholars have argued that women will curb their behaviours to meet expected social norms through fear of punishment. In my participants' marriages, this punishment is not a literal, physical act as it might be in other parts of the world, but the punishment does seem to take the form of chastisement. While I know that it is within my power to make and serve what I want when I'm making dinner, I also recognise that serving soup for supper will be met with scorn, huffs and puffs, and a lot of unpleasant, nonverbal signals of Will's displeasure. It is thus easier for me to keep soup and biscuits for a

[734] Danny Harris.
[735] Natalie Weiskopf.
[736] Lucie Laperrière.

night when he's not home. The same is true for other traditions I grew up with and want to pass on to my children; like waffles or breakfast foods for dinner. I have learnt to keep those for evenings when he is either away or working rather than fight over food he doesn't like. It is possible that some may see this negotiation as evidence that my husband has more authority on what we eat that I do. It is important that I do not consider this decision a sign that I am oppressed. Rather, I believe it's a sign of respect in a marriage that is about being partners. In fact, he has also made changes to accommodate my dislike for mushrooms. These sorts of concessions are also present in other marriages. Coralie, for example, says that her father would make pasta or tacos, things her mother didn't like, when she wasn't home.

Men, it is clear, are more active and present in the kitchen than before and this comes with its own set of challenges. In *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work*, Marjorie DeVault argues that "it is not just that women do more of the work of feeding, but also that feeding work has become one of the primary ways that women 'do' gender."[737] By questioning whether women do such work because of an ingrained cultural and moral obligation or because they exchange this type of work for an economic stability provided by men, DeVault forced gender and food historians to consider the power relations that manifest between men and women in relation to food-making and to investigate how individuals "do" what they assume their gender should.[738] As more and more men are involved in the daily cooking, I was interested in seeing if women were able to give up their place in the kitchen. I know from my own experience, that when we are both home and my husband takes the lead on dinner, I have a hard time with it. I feel somewhat guilty that he is there working while I'm reading or playing with the kids. In this sense, I realise I am responsible for supporting a system that believes women should be in the kitchen. I am one of those "authors of gender [who] become entranced by [our]

[737] Marjorie DeVault, *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 119.
[738] DeVault, *Feeding the Family*.

own fictions whereby the construction compels one's belief in its necessity and naturalness."[739] Getting over this feeling of guilt is difficult however when it is ingrained.

On the other hand, if I am cooking, I do not appreciate the fact that my husband sometimes corrects my technique or gives me advice on how to make dinner. I am sure he feels the same way when I give him tips or I try to help him out while he is cooking. Rather than seeing food preparation as a mutual activity, it is easier in our home for one person to make dinner and for the other person to get out of the way. Natalie shares the same feelings about her husband. "Je n'aime pas être ici quand Danny cuit. Puis j'aime pas que Danny soit ici quand je cuis," she tells me.

> [J]e suis complètement capable et compétente à faire à souper mais si Danny est là, soudainement j'pas capable de même sortir le jus d'un citron parc'que c'est pas faite rapidement ou la façon qu'y trouve que j'devrais être en train de l'faire… ma technique, disons, est pas toujours parfaite mais tant qu'à moi c'est pas un big deal aussi longtemps que le souper est bien faite in the end. Y goute bon… Puis Danny, b'en y est super vite mais y est super pas, pas, pas propre… puis ça m'énerve être dans la cuisine quand y cuit. Alors j'préfère juste attendre à la fin parc'qu'y est aussi très bon à toute nettoyer derrière lui à la fin. Mais je veux pas regarder à ça.[740]

Watching couples in the kitchen was one thing I wanted to observe during the culinary chats I conducted. I had observed during my MA project that although men stayed out of the kitchen while women were cooking or baking, women did not. When my father made pretzels, for example, my mother had laid everything out for him beforehand and then started cleaning up behind him as he worked the dough through its various steps. When my grandparents made donuts for their interview, my

[739] Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 522.
[740] Natalie Weiskopf.

grandmother shot my grandfather looks whenever he tried to give her advice or give her suggestions. It seemed from my more structured interviews, that this same sort of supervisory behaviour may also be common in other homes. Natasha, for example, told me that

> [i]f we're cooking together we have to give specific tasks. Like I'm doing this and you're doing that. And then it's fine. But if I'm told that he's cooking dinner tonight, I have a hard time, like I can't just sit there and let him do it. I have to like go and investigate. And I'll taste something or I'll be like, "Well you're cutting those wrong!" And then he looks at me and I'm like, "Sorry! It's just not how I would do it." And then that's when he tells me, "Just because it's not how you would do it doesn't mean it's wrong." But it does a little bit mean it's wrong. Cause it's not right… So as long as we give each other like specific tasks and we're both doing something, then it's fine. But if I'm in the kitchen and he's not, then, he doesn't care to come in and critique or criticise.[741]

When I interviewed André and Lucie Laperrière making sucre à crème, it was clear that André was in charge of the operation. André chose the recipe. As the one in the family who seems more interested in desserts, André's choice is in direct contrast to his wife's who would have made something more savoury for the interview. Rather than using his mother's recipe, which has no instructions whatsoever, just a list of ingredients, André decided to use a recipe from a woman he works with because it gives clear instructions. I have to admit that it surprised me that he had chosen a recipe he had never made before. Moreover, sucre à crème is not something Lucie says she grew up with and so she has never made it either. Though the recipe seemed, initially, to be coming together well, it became evident with each passing step that this lack of experience was, ultimately, problematic. The final result was not sucre à crème but rather a more taffy-like consistency.

[741] Natasha Krauss.

When they talked about their relationship in the kitchen, André and Lucie had both told me it was a partnership. This is exactly what I witnessed when I watched them. André asked her for ingredients and utensils that she got for him and then she cleaned up after each step. This, in my opinion, did not come across as a power trip with the male taking charge and dominating the situation. Rather, it just seemed like the arrangement was for him to be the chef and she was the sous-chef. If too many people are in charge, give directions, or play with a recipe, then they may "spoil the broth" so to speak. Lucie did not interfere with advice or tips. When things weren't going well and it was clear that he was unsure, he consulted with his wife at the stove and they discussed where the boiling mixture was at. In the end, it was his choice to remove it from the stove and, even if it did not turn out, she never said anything reproachful. The exact opposite scenario had in fact taken place just before the interview. I was invited for lunch and Lucie was making soup when I got there. It was clear that Lucie was in charge of lunch. She was most often at the stove and though she consulted with my uncle about the soup, she decided when it was ready. Though she served us, André is the one who cleared the table and who unloaded the dishwasher.

If men can cook really well but don't, it might be because they are not given the opportunity. In France and Jean-Pierre's family, for example, their parents were very happy with assuming traditional roles. However, when she was gone and he was in charge of making food, Jean-Pierre remembers that "[h]e would actually whip up some pretty good meals. I can remember my mom would leave and he would be, 'Let's go to the Freshmart and get T-bone steaks,' and he'd make these marinades and it was actually really good."[742] France remembers that ham was his specialty as well as "des déjeuners spéciale, comme des gros déjeuner. Comme si on avait la famille qui restait, comme chaque année on avait un bonfire, un corn roast,… mais ensuite le lendemain matin mon père préparait toujours un gros, gros

[742] Jean-Pierre Perron.

déjeuner pour tout l'monde. So bacon, eggs."[743] While not all men will be interested in cooking, all men can. Indeed, Bernard and Rhéal can be used as examples to show that men can not only became the primary food makers in their homes but that they can also be the ones to carry on traditions. In fact, both of them still make tourtière from scratch and then gift it to those of their children who do not make them themselves. If eighty-year-old men will do it, one can assume that any man who takes the time to learn can also make traditional foods. Though our historical and social circumstances certainly make it more acceptable today than it was before, this section has demonstrated that taking on the role of ensuring that traditions are passed on is not an inherently female task. If women want men to be more involved, perhaps they need to loosen the hold they have on their kitchens. Now in her late 80s Yvonne Patterson Rochefort remarks that "my husband wanted me to let him do some cooking but I thought he was such a lousy cook… I should have let him and [told] him how good he was. He probably [would have] become good. Because [when] you flatter him… You know, men are like that sometimes."[744]

5.5. Kids

At the end of the day when individuals are tired or when planning a special meal that requires one's attention, having kids running around makes the task even more challenging. It is therefore not surprising that children have not necessarily been active participants in the kitchen. As I watched France make dinner, for example, I cannot count the amount of times her children came in to ask her something. Colby's voice saying, "Maman, Maman, Maman, MAMAN!" constantly breaks through France's answers to the questions I had been asking and his presence in the kitchen cuts her off as she tries to get this meal done. Rylee also comes in to whisper questions and to ask for food.

These comments are not meant as criticism but to highlight the reality of what it is like to cook with children. In fact, I'm sure that keeping the kids out of the kitchen so they could be productive was

[743] France Carroll.
[744] Yvonne Patterson Rochefort.

strategic of Laurette, Amanda, and Christine. It is not until the cookies are all baked and cooled that the children come in to decorate them. This is the same strategy my mother used when we got together to decorate gingerbread houses for our group interview. Though part of me would have loved to have filmed her making the parts of the houses and seeing the interaction between her, her daughters, her daughter-in-law, and her grandchildren, she rightly pointed out that it was much easier to have it all ready to go than to try to do all that with them running around. Even with this preparation done, the interviews that include children show that though kids might start off focused, they eventually wander from the task at hand. Even when they know what they are doing, as Magali demonstrates when she fills and then levels off the cup she is using to measure flour or while capably cracking eggs into a bowl, children become distracted and can mess up a recipe, as Magali also demonstrates when she puts pepper in the Nova Scotia Cake.

Without children, the person making dinner can move more easily in his/her space. This was especially evident while watching Lisa and Magali. Lisa stood behind her, stirring the ingredients with her arms around Magali's head and torso. This meant Lisa had to lean her body awkwardly. With France, the kids created obstacles interfering with her ability to move freely. This could be dangerous in a space where one false step could send a child onto a hot oven or into an open fire. These realities help explain why children are not in the kitchen at all or, at least, often placed in a safe area, like sitting on a counter. It also helps to explain why children will learn to bake but not cook. The risks and dangers are much lower when one is mixing butter and sugar and rolling dough than when one is cutting meat with a sharp knife and cooking over any kind of heat.

In the past, I have shown earlier in this chapter, children were not active participants in the daily task of cooking. Yet they were often witnesses. It seems from my interviews that the parents who enjoy being in the kitchen are indeed sharing this interest and passion with their children. Cooking with

children isn't easy and it takes patience but the individuals who like the task find ways to include their children. For France, this means her and her daughter wait until Colby is napping and then, "[q]uand y dors, on fait souvent, souvent des desserts ensemble. T'sais des recettes traditionnelles… [M]a mère à nous a préparé un Noël chacun une p'tite boite de recettes… Des choses qu'elle préparait. Des cipailles, des choses traditionnelles. Coleslaw. La recette à ma grand-mère puis des gâteaux, chocolate cake, des choses comme ça. So moi et Rylee on va à travers la boite puis on prépare des p'tits desserts. Qu'on gèle puis que j'essaie de sortir comme au temps des fêtes."[745]

Children are the future and it is up to us, in the present, to decide what messages, values, and practices they will carry forward with them into their own lives. In his essay, "Putting Food on the Family," Jack Hitt concludes that for children who venture into the kitchen space today "[i]ts repute as a ghetto for women's work [is] as remote to these kids as the reputation of colonial frontiersmen for being smelly."[746] In his opinion, what was once a "ghetto" to which women were "relegated" and the "battleground" of female "emancipation" in the 1970s, has "been completely renovated - often literally, definitely metaphorically."[747] Though I do not believe we can say this with 100% accuracy of 2018, since it is clear that many women still regard the kitchen as either their place and/or their space, it does certainly seem that the assumption that women are the *only* ones in the kitchen and/or the *only* ones making traditional foods, is fading. All traditional foods, in the end, can be considered stunts whether they are performed by women or by men. They are exciting, highly anticipated, and often require some form of heat to prepare. Roasting and basting may not appear as dangerous as barbequing or cooking over an open fire, but those who have burnt themselves on a hot cookie sheet or have been scarred by dripping fat can attest that there is danger inherent in all cooking.

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[745] France Carroll.
[746] Jack Hitt, "Putting Food on the Family," *Man with a Pan: Culinary Adventures of Fathers Who Cook for Their Families*," ed. John Donohue (Chapel Hill, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2011), 21-22.
[747] Hitt, "Putting Food on the Family," 22.

Reflection 5: Final Thoughts

"Karena, es-tu franco-ontarienne?" I ask my seven-year-old daughter as we eat supper. We're back home after our Easter getaway.

"Oui," she answers without hesitation.

"Comment tu l'sais?" I ask. She shrugs her shoulder in response.

"Je sais, Maman," Krysten pipes up. "On dit 'J'ai fini.' Pas 'Je suis fini.' Ça c'est comment on sais." I laugh and roll my eyes. Every day, so many times a day that I lose count, I correct this mistake. When they say *je suis fini* I can hear a chorus of teachers in my head saying, "Si tu es fini, tu es morte!"

"Est-ce que Papa est franco-ontarien?" I ask. If they can't explain what makes them Franco-Ontarian maybe they can explain what it means to **not** be one.

"Non!" The oldest exclaims laughing. "Il est anglophone."

"Mais je parle français," my husband pipes up trying to help me out.

"Mais tu parles plus anglais," Karena counters. "Ça veut dire que tu es anglophone."

"Mais je parle français aussi. Donc je serai pas bilingue?"

"Non. Franglophone." She nods her approval at her verdict and smiles.

"Yeah. Franglophone," Krysten agrees picking up her fork.

"Oh! B'en guess what?" I exclaim.

"Quoi?" Both girls answer in unison.

“J’ai fini mon projet.”

“Vraiment!” Karena marvels. “Vraiment, vraiment?”

“Oui!”

“Woohoo!” The girls cheer.

“That’s awesome!” Will exclaims smiling.

“So?” Will asks later that night after the girls are in bed. “What’s the final verdict? What does it mean to be French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian?”

“You’re asking me to sum up three hundred pages in one sentence?”

“Or a couple. Isn’t that what you’ll have to do whenever anyone asks you?”

“It is,” I answer sighing. “I don’t think I can sum it up in a sentence or two, but you’re right. The bottom line,” I continue slowly, turning everything around in my head. “The bottom is line is that people care about where they come from. Maybe not always about drawing a line all the way back to Quebec or France, but they care about their families. They consider certain symbols, like food, or religion, or music, as ways that they express this heritage. Not everyone cares about the same symbols in the same way, but there are common ones that tie these individuals together. They care about speaking and living at least part of their lives in French. They care about sharing their experiences with others, especially their family members. They care about those connections. These French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians may not look exactly the way they did in the past. The French may not be the same French and the spices and techniques may have changed the foods themselves but those who use these labels to define themselves care about moving the traditions into the next generation.”

"So, you're back to language then? I thought you were trying to get away from that. Wasn't the whole point of the project to show that culture exists without language?"

"It was. I guess I have to answer that with a bit of a story. You know, when we were down south with your family, I panicked a little bit. There we were in rural Creemore [southern Ontario] eating butter tarts and talking about your uncle's plans to cut his garden back. Your aunt was talking about their Fisherman's Breakfast and cooking bacon and eggs. I think I stopped breathing for a second as I listened to stories and experiences that are, in a lot of ways, not all that different from the stories and experiences my participants have shared. What, I wondered, is ultimately different from that rural setting and Astorville's? You come from a big family. You guys like to get together and have a good time. We've developed food traditions when they come here for the fishing weekend and the August long weekend. What I observed in Creemore is very similar to what I've observed and heard as I interviewed my participants."

"Okay?"

"So I was sitting there, my head spinning, when one of the people visiting, a man whose name I don't remember, picked up Karena's stack of *mots à globalisé* that she had left on the table. He was flipping through them and then he noticed that there was also writing on the back of them. He gave me a curious look and looked back and forth from me to the cards.

'Oh,' I explained, 'I'm trying to teach Karena some German while she's learning to read. The other side's French. They're her flashcards.'

He looked up at me and asked, 'Where's the Canadian side?'

I think he was joking. I mean, I don't think he was being rude about it. But he also seemed very serious. I was so stunned I couldn't speak. But that question reaffirmed for me that even if the rural lifestyle, the big families, the preserves and pies are experiences English- and

French-Canadians share, I wish I had answered, 'Both sides are Canadian. One's the French-Canadian side and the other is the German-Canadian side.' Because that's the reality. Canada is not English. Canada is bilingual. Canada is multicultural. And to ask me where the "Canadian" side was to exclude me, my daughters, our family, from the country. French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians feel a need to specify because that part of them means something important. It's the difference between a melting pot and a mosaic. French-Canadians want to acknowledge they have these roots and I don't think that's different from any other ethnic group.

When I started this project, I had hoped to show that culture can exist without language. I had based my assumption on the German side of my family. Even though most of us don't speak German, we have German traditions; like Saint Nick. Why couldn't the same be true with French traditions?"

"Well I make cipaille every year for the church picnic. That doesn't make me French or Catholic."

"Exactly. Celebrating Saint Nick every year affirms the girls' and I's German heritage. Even if they don't speak the language and don't know Germany's history, they do know that they are part German. In comparison, I as a French-Canadians and the girls as Franco-Ontarians, have the institutional structures and the home environment to sustain and support not only the language but also our French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian selves. Our history is taught at school and our culture is passed on through the foods we eat at special events throughout the year, the songs they bring home from school, and the activities we do together in French."

"Makes sense," he says. "But your answer doesn't sound very final. There are similarities but not everyone's the same?"

“It’s complicated,” I say moving closer to him. “These questions of culture are complex. There are so many layers. In fact, I really struggled with my conclusion because it’s felt anti-climactic. I want to say something earth-shattering and brilliant! But the truth is that all of my interviews and my own experiences work to confirm that culture is formed in the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves. It’s about the parts that make us who we are. In minority settings, like Astorville, it’s clear that these parts are both French and English. Overall, however, we pass on the traditions, skills, and experiences that matter to us and we eliminate those that don’t work for us. Traditional foods are themselves narratives because recipes and ingredients can connect us to our past and to those we care about. When I was talking to Tante Susie the other day, she reminded me that they also provide the opportunity to come together, to share stories, memories, and experiences. Food is, on one hand, a great equaliser since we all have to eat. But, as I reminded her, it’s also subtly political. Even when we don’t think our food means anything, what we make says something about who we are and who we want to be.”

“I don’t know if I agree with that. I don’t make cipaille because I want to be French-Canadian.”

“I know. But you do care about the community. You like giving back. You started helping with the picnic and carnival because someone who mattered to you, someone close to you, someone who was French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian asked you to help, right?”

“Right.”

“And for a while you kept going back because of that person, right?”

“Right.”

“And now that that person isn’t there anymore, you keep helping with the picnic because it’s become a habit and because you care about the community, right?

"Right."

"Right. And now that you've been doing it for so long, you've become one of the leaders there. People think you're part of the culture because you've been there so long and because you speak French to the girls. For years now you've helped keep a French-Canadian tradition alive. You know the recipe and the technique. You can find a solution when there are problems. You've brought people in to get others involved. In doing so, you've become a cultural agent. The picnic has been going on for nearly as long as Astorville has been Astorville. I don't think people care about that when they go to the arena every year but the act of going, being part of that tradition, this piece of Astorville's story, keeps the culture alive. It's because individuals agree to participate in the story that the culture survives."

"So if language fails?"

"I think the stories will still be there but, with time, their tone and nuances will change. The characters will change from grand-maman or pépère to grandma or gramps. Right now, despite mixed marriages and the number of French-as-a-second-language learners in our schools, I can say that my participants have demonstrated that, in their families, there are certain traditions, values, and ways of living that they associate with their French-Canadian selves and that they both consciously and unconsciously pass on to their children. But in the future? Are assimilation theories correct? Will we go from being français to Franglais to English? I mean my dad is a Gramps. Not Opa like his dad was. I think that says something about what happens to culture when one is removed from the source for too long or when the culture doesn't speak to you enough to want to share it. My aunt, on the other hand, is now an Oma and my cousin speaks German with her children. For some, the stories stick. For others, the narrative doesn't work.

What I hope, with this project, is to show that keeping a culture alive depends as much on language as it does on other practices. I also hope people will see that keeping a culture going is more complicated than just speaking the language or just following certain traditions. Culture is first and foremost personal. Unless individuals care, unless they want to speak French and be part of the group, there won't be a group to be part of. We need to work, even fight, for what we care about but even fighting is more nuanced and complicated than standing on a picket line. Fighting too stems from personal levels of comfort. It takes private, personal fights as much as it takes public, group demonstrations. Together, private and public, self and other, actions, and what may appear to be inaction, affirms our desires. Our beliefs."

"Maman, papa," Krysten says coming out of her room. "J'peux pas dormir. J'ai la chanson 'Mon arrière, arrière grand-père' prit dans ma tête."

Will chuckles.

"Okay," I say.

"Mais je me rapelle pas tous les mots."

"Viens," I tell her. "Je vais te la jouer une fois sur YouTube et ensuite tu pourra te coucher."

"Okay, Maman," she says climing up on Will as I grab my phone off of the coffee table. I search "Mes aïeux" in Apple Music and the drum beat starts as soon as I touch the title.

Ton arrière-arrière-grand-père, il a défriché la terre
Ton arrière-grand-pere, il a labouré la terre
Et pis ton grand-pere a rentabilisé la terre
pis ton pere, il l'a vendu pour devenir fonctionnaire

Et pis toiy mon p'tit gars, tu sais pu c'que tu vas faire

Dans ton p'tit trois et d'mi ben trop cher, frete en hiver

Il te vient des envies de dev'nir propriétaire

Et tu rêves la nuit d'avoir ton petit lopin de terre…[748]

"J'espère qu'elle ne s'ennuiera jamais de son lopin d'terre même si c'est juste un acre," I think to myself as we watch the video. This song is about the emotional emptiness that comes from losing ties to the past contrasted with the sense of pleasure and purpose that comes when traditions are kept alive. "J'espère qu'à travers de ses expériences d'enfance, avec sa famille, à l'école, et dans la communauté, qu'elle et sa sœur ne pourrons pas ignorer d'où elles viennent. Qui elles sont. Qu'elles sont aimées. Un jour, lorsqu'elles partent de la maison, j'espère qu'elles seront fortes de caractère. Certaines d'elles-mêmes. Capable de communiquer dans deux langues, si pas trois. Je sais qu'il y aura des moments difficiles et qu'elles se sentiront seul par moment. J'espère par exemple que leurs racines les garderont bien ancrées peut importe où elles vont. Comme les miennes m'ont ancrées jusqu'à présent."

[748] Des generation, "Mes aïeux," *En famille*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aU1MfTr9m_c

Conclusion

Culture is complicated. Culture is larger than language. How culture is created, reinforced, and performed is complex. While culture depends on collective choices, identity depends on personal and subjective decisions. How individuals negotiate their own identity as members of a particular culture is the focus of this study. Foodways, I argue, are an integral part of culture formation and retention since they represent both "a way of life – encompassing ideas, attitudes, languages, practices, institutions, and structures of power – and a whole range of cultural practices."[749] Because foodways and cultures evolve, defining a French-Canadian and/or Franco-Ontarian is not as simple as saying that "Franco-Ontarians eat tourtière after mass on Christmas Eve" or that "French-Canadians make tourtière the same way their great-grandmothers always made it." If no two people are exactly alike and if a culture is made up of individuals with their own ideas of what belonging to the group means, how can scholars ever really understand, define, and/or make conclusions about the cultures they study? How can politicians and lawyers advocate for a group's rights or create policies to help it if members of the group will feel differently about the policy's outcome? How can we predict the success or disappearance of a group based on numbers about language skill when language is only one part of what makes a person part of a culture? Through a series of interviews and "culinary chats," this autoethnographic study has worked to answer the question: "What is the connection between French-Canadian traditional food and cultural retention? How do evolution and adaptation of foodways threaten or facilitate cultural preservation?"

Studying the cultural food practices tied to celebrations, resistance, and memory as well as the references to habits such as gardening, foraging, and hunting in Astorville, has demonstrated that foodways are a rich site for understanding how culture is created and maintained in minority settings. Culture, Chang reminds us in her definition, is not static.[750] A culture will evolve with time because its

[749] Heewon Chang, *Autoethnography as Method* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2008), 21-23.
[750] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 23.

members will influence other members[751] and because historical realities will force people to act differently. When studying culture, scholars must therefore employ a theoretical framework that works toward "a process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline, and [that] draws on the [established] disciplines with the goal of integrating their insights to construct a more comprehensive understanding."[752] They must adopt a way of thinking that does not "obey disciplinary preferences regarding theory, method, and subject matter."[753] Rather, they must embrace "competing theories or methods" and understand that culture is a "[c]omplex system[that is] … spontaneous,… disorderly,… alive."[754] Foodways are a perfect example of how culture is produced both inside and outside the self. As much as they can "be interpreted as mirroring broader social, cultural, economic and political changes[, they] can also be manufactured."[755]

Focusing on the personal, creating characters that purposely hide the identity of the speaker(s), and incorporating narrative plots into an academic paper may seem at odds with rigorous, serious, honest research. Some may even argue that such techniques are better suited to creative nonfiction or fiction. After all, even novelists must do research so that their stories are believable. They must also observe, note, and share genuine human behaviour and emotions so that they may impart to their readers what they consider to be significant themes and topics. Indeed, a real danger autoethnographers face is the "tendency to promote ethnographic research [and] writing on the basis of its experiential value, its evocative qualities, and its personal commitments rather than its scholarly purpose, its

[751] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 23.
[752] Julie T. Klein and W. Newell, "Advancing Interdisciplinary Studies," *Interdisciplinarity: Essays from the literature*, Edited by W. Newell (New York: College Board, 1998), 393-394.
[753] Rick Szostack, "The Interdisciplinary Research Process," Allen F. Repko, William H. Newell, Rick Szostak eds. *Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research,* (California: Sage, 2012), 4.
[754] M. Mitchell Waldrop, *Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos*, (New York : Touchstone, 1992), 12.
[755] Frances Short, *Kitchen Secrets: The Meaning of Cooking in Everyday Life* (New York: Berg, 2006), 18.

theoretical bases, and its disciplinary contributions"[756] and to "look inward at the personal and emotional life of the ethnographer-as-author rather than looking outward to an intellectual constituency informed by social theory."[757] Yet autoethnography has the power and potential to go beyond traditional academic studies. Like biography and autobiography, which focus on specific moments in an individual's life within a historical context to show that individuals act within their cultural-historical possibilities, autoethnography connects "the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political"[758] to show how the cultural group is a product of its cultural-historical possibilities. By opening the door to a dialogue that includes all the participants rather than a monologue in which the researcher "has the last word,"[759] autoethnographers, like novelists, reflect on the impact others have on the self and use those reflections to generate analysis. By creatively incorporating these other voices into the academic discussion, by "*showing* the feelings and emotions [of a group of people]… rather than *telling* their story,"[760] autoethnographers can make the reader "care[,]… feel[,]… empathize and… do something."[761]

Focusing on the personal means listening to the narratives individuals construct about themselves and others and then situating these narratives in a specific time and place. Doing so demands employing an academic lens that uses the personal to drive the theory and that uses theory to understand the personal. By juxtaposing narrative and theory, by not only asking about these complex issues but by also observing them in action, this study argues that culture thrives or dies in the performance of it. Watching my participants in their kitchens has allowed me to conclude that they attribute deep meaning to the making of certain foods and that, whether these foods are consumed

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[756] Paul Atkinson, "Rescuing Autoethnography," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35, no. 4 (2006), 402-403.
[757] Atkinson, "Rescuing Autoethnography," 403.
[758] Carolyn Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2000), 30.
[759] Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner, "Analyzing Analytic Autoethnography: An Autopsy." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35, no. 4 (2006), 33.
[760] Celia Hunt and Fiona Simpson, "Introduction," *The Self on the Page: Theory and Practice of Creative Writing and Personal Development*, Edited by Celia Hunt and Fiona Simpson (Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2005), 12.
[761] Ellis and Bochner, 32.

often during the year or only on special occasions, the act of planning, preparing, serving, and/or eating them, (in some cases, even just remembering or talking about them), makes individuals cultural agents. The reflective pieces I have used to introduce and foreshadow the topics discussed in each chapter are the result of me questioning my own assumptions and beliefs about the link between language, foodways, and culture. They include not only my own doubts, struggles, hopes, and ambitions, but also those expressed by my participants. This paper is not one person having the last word but rather a co-creation, as Etherington explains, a "multifaceted and many-layered [story] that [honours] the messiness and complexity of human life… and [that enables me] to create meaning out of experience."[762]

This study has demonstrated that an understanding of culture must start at a personal, individual level. We need to understand what it is that individual people care about. We must look at how the past has shaped the present realities of the group and see how individuals use the past to shape not only the present but also future generations and their associations with the group. We must look at the meanings attached to symbols, words, and actions by individuals within the group. In other words, to study culture means to understand the link between the actual material objects and the symbolic attachment individuals within a group have made to objects. By juxtaposing opposing points of view, finding common ground between individuals, and questioning larger assumptions that are used to define the group, all scholars, policy makers, and officials can comprehend a culture's complex reality, see what keeps it together, and know how best to meet its needs.

I make no attempt to disguise the fact that this study stems from my own frustration with the dominant discourses affecting those, like me, who grow up in culturally and linguistically mixed homes and communities. Dominant discourses are hard to ignore as they have come to shape our world views

[762] Kim Etherington, *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher: Travellers' Tales* (London: Jessica Kinsley Publishers, 2004), 27-28.

and, consequently, our practices. One particularly dominant discourse is tied to bilingualism, especially the negative pressure both French and English people can exert on those who are not language purists. Expressing oneself with language that is a mixture of French and English (or "franglais") risks criticism from both sides. History, as I demonstrated in Chapter 2, is crucial in understanding how ideas of culture come to be. In northern Ontario, as in other places in Canada, Francophones have gone from not only being a majority to a minority but have also been targeted by an Anglophone centre that has actively sought to eliminate the French language and way of life from the country. Fighting for equality. Struggling to protect the language. Demanding services in French. Reprimanding children for speaking English in French-language settings and for speaking French in English-language settings. This militant discourse and approach to language makes sense when one considers the past and the evolution of French-English relationships in Canada. Yet fighting does not always mean being a public activist. Caring about French does not mean excluding English. Rather, it may mean making a conscious and deliberate effort to improve one's own French by reading French books, watching television in French, listening to French radio or podcasts, or practicing grammar. It may mean changing the way in which one communicates with one's partner when their children are born. It may mean refusing to answer a child when he/she speaks English. It may mean purposely or inadvertently excluding friends, family members, or strangers in social settings. The participants in my study have allowed me to demonstrate that there is an important subgroup of French-Canadians/Franco-Ontarians whose realities need to be better understood. Though researchers such as Diane Gérin-Lajoie, Roger Bernard, and David Welch[763] have studied bilingual individuals in schools, more work still needs to be done to understand the daily and

[763] Diane Gérin-Lajoie, "La problématique identitaire et l'école de langue française en Ontario" *Francophonies d'Amérique* no. 18 (2004), 171-179. Roger Bernard, "Les contradiction fondamentales de l'école minoritaire" *Revue des sciences de l'éducation* 23, no. 3 (1997), 509-526; and David Welch "The Franco-Ontarian Community and the Provincial Educational State: A Relationship for Greater Self-Autonomy or a New Trojan Horse?" *Canadian Ethics* vol. 27, no. 3 (1995): 145-165. accessed 20 March 2014, http://web.a.ebscohost.com.librweb.laurentian.ca/ehost/detail?vid=5&sid=655b352d-90cb-454b-a212-78abaaddcad8%40sessionmgr4001&hid=4106&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=a9h&AN=97041500 30

private ways individuals express their cultural selves. By starting with the personal and moving out from there to the larger social implications and ideas of culture, this project has shown that the complexity of culture is larger than language. Culture requires seeing how language and cultural references, like foodways, work either in unison or in competition with each other.

Because French-Canadians are separated by large geographical areas and dispersed across Canada in minority settings, language skill and a language's presence in the home is often used to argue the need for services in French – and for French-language institutions such as schools – and as a measure to counteract and/or prevent assimilation. Chapter 2 demonstrated, however, that while language is an important starting place to understand how culture is tied to language, on its own, language is not an accurate marker of cultural allegiance. When it comes to official documents, like the census, people may identify English as the language most often spoken at home when in fact they speak both official languages in equal amounts. People may indicate that they are able to speak French but may not actually have any ties to the French-Canadian or Franco-Ontarian culture. In bilingual households where French and English have equal place and value, these official documents do not adequately reflect the importance individuals put on language. The reality is that the majority of Francophones in northeastern Ontario cannot live their lives entirely in French. They must also be able to function in English. If France and/or Quebec serve as the standard against which the French language is measured, and if language is the only criteria of membership, it would be a sad reality that many of the residents who consider themselves to be French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian in northeastern Ontario, because of their heritage, practices, and beliefs, would be excluded from the group because they either speak "Franglais" or do not even speak French at all.

According to O'Keefe's 2001 study, language vitality relies on seven key factors: symbolic, demographic, institutional, education, status and privilege, utility, and identity.[764] These criteria apply to traditional foods. Traditional foods and the ingredients used to make them, Chapters 3 and 4 have demonstrated, have tremendous symbolic value. Foods like tourtière and cipaille, Lemasson has shown, have their own history that tie them to the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture.[765] Moreover, they are recognised, not only by my French-speaking participants but also by others, as belonging to the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture. My participants reveal that these two foods, and others like bouili aux fêves, chow chow, venison, gigot, and baked beans, have come to stand as a symbol of their agricultural and rural past as well as their Quebecois heritage. These foods are basic but hearty and they once nourished hardworking settlers. Today, these foods are examples of "soul food," or "comfort food," that sustain many of my participants' emotional needs. We are generations removed from those family members who first settled in Astorville but repeated exposure to their foodways in our own homes, our grandparents' homes, and the homes of our friends who also see themselves as part of the group, show us that we are part of something bigger than ourselves when we prepare, serve, and consume these foods. Indeed, scholars such as Anne Bower, Colleen Cotter, Marlene Epp, Andrea Eidinger, Diane Tye, and Janet Theophano[766] have shown that when people share recipes with each other, they not only

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[764] Michael O'Keefe, *New Canadian Perspectives Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, Second Edition (Canadian Heritage), 75.

[765] Pierre Lemasson, *L'incroyable odyssée de la tourtière* (Outremont, Amérik Média, 2011); "Lac-Saint-Jean 'Tourtière,'" *Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America*, accessed April 8, 2014. http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-90/Tourti%C3%A8re_du_Lac-Saint-Jean.html#.UzbSxrlOV9A and "The Long History of the *Tourtiere* of Quebec's Lac-St-Jean." Ed. Nathalie Cooke. *What's to Eat? Entrées in Canadian Food History* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, 99-115.

[766] Anne Bower, "Bound Together: Recipes, Lives, Stories, and Reading: Introduction," *Recipes for Reading Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (Massachusetts, University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 2; Colleen Cotter, "Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community," *Recipes for Reading*, Edited by Anne L. Bower (United States: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 51-71; Marlene Epp, "More than 'Just' Recipes: Mennonite Cookbooks in Mid-Twentieth-Century North America," *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, Marlene Epp (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012); Andrea Eidinger "Gefilte Fish and Roast Duck with Orange Slices: *A Treasure for My Daughter* and the Creation of a Jewish Cultural Orthodoxy in Postwar Montreal," *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, Marlene Epp

reinforce the choices as being "good" but they also actively create and sustain communities. As I have shown in the discussion about celebrations and rituals in Chapter 4, the sharing of recipes, the gathering of people to eat the chosen food, and the occasion itself, are ways that individuals show themselves being part of the larger cultural group. Moreover, while language skills may pose challenges to inclusion, traditional foods include newcomers by giving them a way to participate in the group and express their individuality despite linguistic barriers.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that personal definitions of "good" food range from simply making healthy choices, such as eating fruits and vegetables, to being conscious of the larger politics involved in the food industry. Gardening, foraging, and hunting are strategies that many of my participants use to openly reject industrial food practices. Using the produce and livestock they grow or harvest to make traditional food allows many of them to save money and avoid mass-produced foods they do not trust. It is clear that people are willing to compromise some of these values and beliefs to preserve a tradition when it is threatened. Some of my participants now plant what they consider to be "non-traditional" vegetables like asparagus and peppers. They also season their foods with what was once regarded as "exotic" spices. Moreover, although they may rely on farmers' markets or grocery stores rather than their own gardens, the foodway as a whole is a product of a mentality that values sustainability, community, family, and fun. In short, these food practices are a means of performing culture.

When enough people enjoy and prepare the same foods, (just as when enough people speak the same language), the food takes on its own power and those preparing the meal for special occasions feel compelled to keep making special dishes in order to please those who are gathered. The family, as the main and guiding institutional force in a child's early years, similarly puts pressure on children to adopt

(Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), 189-208; Diane Tye, *Baking as Biography: A Life Story in Recipes, (*Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Theophano, *Eat My Words*.

certain food preferences so that they will continue making these foods when they become adults. This study has therefore looked closely at my participants' family structures and social relationships in conjunction with the larger historical trends to show how foodways are a structuring force with significant meanings attached.

Like families, popular culture not only validates these foods by including them in mainstream publications such as Pinterest and the *LCBO Food & Drink Magazine* but also by developing new and interesting ways to make these culturally representative foods so that they meet contemporary concerns of healthy eating. At first glance, it may appear that the traditional foods of this cultural group have not achieved the same level of status as the language. Indeed, a quick search on the Internet will often turn up both fancy and plain versions of many of the foods I have listed in Appendix G. It might be tempting to assume that fancying something up takes away from the authentic experience and drives one farther from the past. This same assumption can be made about the type and quality of French that is spoken. Yet, Chang's nuanced definition of culture and the participants that I have interviewed assure us that these modern modifications are in fact part of the natural process of evolution. The foods that have continued are those that have maintained a certain prestige or status. Whether they are made from basic ingredients or exotic ones, the recipes have evolved to ensure the dish still has an honoured place in the home. Because they are generally anticipated, expensive, and time consuming, traditional foods are important means through which individuals communicate to others what they value. If traditional foods are to be passed on to the next generation, they must fit the needs, realities, and desires of those making them. In other words, there must be a reason for them to continue being made and consumed. Just as there must be an occasion and environment that encourages one to speak the language, the food needs a venue where it is expected and cherished, for its own sake, and for what it represents culturally.

Individuals begin to learn languages before they can even speak. They also learn to expect and to like certain flavours while they are in the womb and again as very young children when they first experiment with solid foods. Like language skills, which are developed with exposure and experience, learning to make and enjoy traditional foods comes first by seeing them made by others and then trying them one's self. Indeed, as Chapter 5 has demonstrated, both women and men are taught what it means to be French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian by watching family members in the kitchen. Food making may have traditionally been a way for women to "do" their gender, to show themselves fulfilling one of the duties expected of respectable women but, in 2018, my participants have shown that foodmaking is a way that not only women but also men "do" culture. In fact, my participants have demonstrated that whether it was while working in the bush or at the sugar shack, or out for a leisurely outing, men have long been using food to express themselves as cultural beings. Scholars have just not always been looking for evidence that men were acting this way or equating the didactic power of male's stunt-like moments with the work done by women in the kitchen. Just as a language requires some formal instruction, traditional foods do too. Though much skill is absorbed through osmosis by regular exposure, at some point those who care need to practice the skill so that they may become experts. This is true of language and of food. As Chapter 5 has demonstrates, today, gender has less to do with cultural immersion than it once did. Speaking French to some and English to others, like automatically preparing tourtière for Christmas or fish for Good Friday, are habits that are internalised in childhood and then reinforced as people grow up.

By not only listening to my participants but also by observing them in their kitchens, trying some of their recipes in my own home, sharing these experiences with others – in other words by being in conversation with them not only during interviews for this project but during my entire life – this project has demonstrated that these individuals feel not only a need for these foods but also a purposeful use for them. Sometimes it is the occasion, such as brunch or Good Friday or Christmas, which dictates the

food that must be served. Other times, it is the desire to connect with others – to make something that reminds one of a person who is no longer physically present or to please guests. Identity depends on a subjective and conscious choice and this study has proven that part of being French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian is about choosing foods and celebrating traditions that have been passed on to us from previous generations. Making specific foods today means refusing to let the past die because it ensures a future that will include these beliefs and practices. Future versions of these traditional foods will certainly not look exactly like the present versions. Individual interpretations of the recipe and material realities about the availability of ingredients will necessitate the recipes continually being adapted to meet the needs and realities of those making them. Thus, just as individuals modify a cultural group, modern adaptations will allow the recipes to evolve so they will stay in circulation and so that the culture survives.

In juxtaposing the evolution of recipes with the evolution of the people, I have brought new light on the ways in which assimilation, modernisation, and industrialisation, among other things, have impacted French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian identity. Understanding how the recipes themselves have both changed and stayed the same has allowed me to demonstrate that adaptation of foodways to include treasured foods from one's other, non-Francophone(s) side of the family, is inevitable. When people live in minority settings and/or grow up in homes with parents from two or more different ethnic groups, it is only natural that they will be exposed to, and come to value, food from both of those cultures. The same applies to language. Growing up in a mixed environment means that individuals learn the value and importance of both languages. Just as one must make concessions about what will be eaten for special celebrations to accommodate the tastes and preferences of all present, one will also vary the language in use to accommodate those who are present. Switching from one language to the other, like making certain times of the year about French-Canadian foods and other times about food

from other cultures, does not mean that people are giving up their culture. It means that they are participating in both cultures because they belong to both; indeed, they fundamentally ARE both.

The goal of this project was not to predict the future of Franco-Ontarians as a cultural group or to critique current practices in homes, schools, or communities. Rather, the aim of the project was to observe and reflect on ordinary individuals moving about their ordinary lives in order to glean exactly what it is about the culture they value. One can conclude from this study that individuals associate their experiences and memories with people and also with languages. These "mnemonic associations," as Robert Moor calls them,[767] can also be described as "cognitive maps," a term meant to capture the process that takes place within an individual as he/she learns to associated certain situations as being in one language or another.[768] Ensuring our continuing link to the French-Canadian/Franco-Ontarian culture depends on good experiences and good memories – positive mnemonic associations and cultural maps. Cultural vitality depends on group members' continuing their positive interpretation of the events they experience and the stories they hear.

Stories have the power to shape reality. Dominant discourses are themselves stories that we all have the power to either accept or rewrite. We can only change them, however, if we are critical of them. If too much attention is put on learning or too much attention is put on assimilation, if we are embarrassed by our regional dialects, if French speakers are made to feel inferior by both English speakers and other French speakers because of an accent, then we are perpetuating a view that the French language and people of some areas is/are not good enough for the larger collective. People who feel abandoned and who are rejected become angry. Anger leads to animosity and a turning away from,

[767] Robert Moor, *On Trails: An Exploration* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 194.
[768] Liah Greenfeld and Jonathan Eastwood, 'National Identity,' The Oxford handbook of comparative politics, Edited by Carles Boix and Susan Carol Stokes (Oxford University Press 2007), 256.

or a rebellion against, the source of the conflict. People who stop speaking French because they feel they are not able to speak well enough or who reject the term French-Canadian because they do not want to be associated with Quebec, demonstrate the power of exclusion versus inclusion.

What is the connection between French-Canadian traditional food and cultural retention? How do evolution and adaptation of foodways threaten or facilitate cultural preservation? The answer, I believe, is much broader than any one cultural group. Food is a language in its own right and the spaces where we make traditional and culturally-representative foods are critical places in which individual and collective identity are shaped. Foods that cannot adapt to the times, like cultures who stay rooted in the past, disappear while those that can be adjusted survive. For many of the people in my study, this adjustment has meant adapting the traditional recipes to current lifestyle realities and ingredient availability. It has also meant balancing French and English language and culture. Does accepting this Franglaisisation mean the culture will become extinct? Though the French of Astorville will never be the French of the Outaouais, or of Sudbury, or of Manitoba, or of New Brunswick, or of Quebec, I believe my participants show that their French will not become extinct. Indeed, their answer is a resounding “non.” It will not die. Many are fighting for it in their own, personal ways. It is my sincere hope that this project will open a discussion about the merit of regional French dialects and inspire scholars to ask participants not only why language matters but to ask themselves that question as well. I would also urge inquirers to listen for the other aspects of culture that matter just as much, including foodways. I hope that no matter what culture they study, scholars will listen to the stories they are told, taste the foods that are served, consider the meanings attached to both, and thereby come to appreciate the complexity and adaptability that are integral parts of collective cultural preservation and individual identity formation.

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Liste of Appendices

Traditional Foodways and Cultural Identity

Background and Childhood

1. Can you tell me your name for the record? And your maiden name?
2. Would you mind telling me your date of birth?
3. Can you tell me about your family?
    - Who were your parents?
    - Where did they come from?
    - Where did they live?
    - What did you parents do for work?
    - Do you have any siblings?
4. Can you describe your family home? What was the floor plan of the house?
    - Where did people gather in the home?
    - What did your kitchen look like?
    - What kind of appliances and cooking equipment did you have?
5. What was Astorville like when you were a child?
    - Can you describe the roads, the village, the amenities (electricity, telephone)…?
    - Where did people gather in the village?
    - What community events were there in Astorville when you were young? Did you attend?
6. Can you describe your childhood?
    - Did you play with your siblings? With other children?
    - What kinds of games did you play with your friends? As a family?
    - Did you have chores around the house? What were your responsibilities? Were there different responsibilities for boys and girls?

Gender Roles

1. Did one or both of your parents work outside the home? What kind of hours did he/she work?
2. What was your mother's role in the family? How did she view this role? What were your father's attitudes toward this role?
3. What was your father's role in the family? How did he view this role? What were your mother's attitudes toward this role?
4. Who made food in your home?
5. Were there special meals or moments when someone else made food? Why did the role switch? What was the occasion?
6. Did you mother or father have a special meal that he/she made?
7. Were children involved in making food?

Food Consumption and Preparation

1. Who provided and/or purchased the food for the household? Where did the food come from? Who prepared it? Was money ever an issue?
2. Did/do you have a garden?
    - Who tended it?
    - What was planted?
    - What was done with extra food at the end of the season (canning, cold storage, freezing…)
3. Were canned or frozen vegetables or fruit eaten in your home?
    - If yes, why were they part of an effort to prepare meals more quickly or for less money?
    - How did meals with frozen/canned foods differ from ordinary meals?

4. Did you raise your own livestock?
    - If yes, what animals did you raise?
    - Who was responsible for taking care of them?
    - How were the animals processed? At what times of the year? What happened to the surplus? What foods were made with this meat?
5. What equipment was used to make food?
    - Did this equipment make food preparation easier?
    - What equipment was available but that you didn't have?
6. Which meals did you family eat together?
    - What were these meals like? Was there much discussion? Who made them? Who was served first? Was there much talking during them?
7. Do you cook/bake?
    - If yes, how did you learn? (Cookbook, watching someone else…)
    - Do you have memories of cooking with your mother or grandmother or of watching her cook/bake?
    - Do you have memories of cooking with your father or grandfather or of watching him cook/bake?
    - What cookbooks were used in your home?
    - What was your favourite food to make?
    - How did food making change when (if) you got married and/or had children?

Nourriture traditionnelle et identité culturelle

Historique et enfance

1. Pouvez-vous me dire votre nom au complet? Votre nom de fille?
2. Pouvez-vous me donner votre date de naissance?
3. Pouvez-vous me dire au sujet de votre famille?
    - Qui sont vos parents?
    - D'où viennent-t-ils?
    - Où ont-ils habité?
    - Quelle sorte de travail/métier avaient vos parents?
    - Avez-vous des frères ou des sœurs?
4. Pouvez-vous me décrire votre milieu familial comme enfant? Décrivez-moi la maison.
    - Où est-ce que les gens se rassemblaient?
    - Décrivez-moi la cuisine.
    - Quelles sortes d'électroménagers aviez-vous pour faire la nourriture?
5. Pouvez-vous me décrire l'Astorville de votre enfance?
    - Pouvez-vous me décrire les chemins? Aviez-vous de l'électricité? Un téléphone?
    - Où se rassemblaient les gens?
    - Quelles sortes d'événements y avaient-ils dans le village lorsque vous étiez jeune? Est-ce que vous et/ou votre famille y participaient?
6. Pouvez-vous me parler de votre enfance?
    - Deviez-vous faire du travail autour de la maison? Quelles responsabilités aviez-vous? Est-ce que les garçons et les filles avaient différentes tâches?

Le rôle des hommes et des femmes

1. Est-ce que vos parents travaillaient en dehors de la maison? Quelles sortes d'heures travaillaient-ils?
2. Quel était le rôle de votre mère dans votre famille? Comment voyait-elle son rôle? Quelle attitude avait votre père face au rôle de votre mère?
3. Quel était le rôle de votre père dans votre famille? Comment voyait-il son rôle? Quelle attitude avait votre mère face au rôle de votre père?
4. Qui préparait la nourriture dans votre maison?
5. Y avait-il des moments spéciaux où quelqu'un d'autre préparait la nourriture? Pourquoi est-ce que cette personne prenait charge? Quelle était l'occasion?
6. Est-ce que votre mère ou votre père avait un repas spécial qu'il ou elle aimait préparer? Lequel et pourquoi?
7. Est-ce que les enfants étaient impliqués dans la préparation de la nourriture?

Préparation et consommation de la nourriture

1. Qui se procurait/achetait la nourriture pour votre famille? D'où venait la nourriture? Qui la préparait? Est-ce que l'argent était un problème?
2. Aviez-vous un jardin comme enfant? Votre famille avait-elle un jardin?
    - Si oui, qui s'en occupait?
    - Qu'est-ce qu'il y avait dans le jardin?
    - Comment est-ce que la nourriture supplémentaire était conservée à la fin de la saison?
3. Mangiez-vous des légumes congelés dans votre maison?
    - Si oui, est-ce que c'était pour permettre de faire le souper plus vite?

- Comment différait la nourriture avec des produits congelés de la nourriture produite sans congélation?

4. Éleviez-vous des animaux lorsque vous étiez jeune? Aujourd'hui?
    - Si oui, lesquelles?
    - Qui en prenaient soin?
    - Comment est-ce qu'on les préparaient? À quel temps de l'année? Que faisiez-vous avec la viande supplémentaire? Quelle sorte de nourriture prépariez-vous avec cette viande?
5. Quels électroménagers étaient utilisés pour faire de la nourriture?
    - Étaient-ils utilisés pour faciliter la préparation de nourriture?
    - Quels électroménagers étaient disponibles dans la société que vous n'utilisiez pas?
6. Quels repas mangez-vous ensemble comme famille?
    - Pouvez-vous me décrire ces repas? Parliez-vous ensemble? Qui les préparaient? Qui mangeait en premier?
7. Faites-vous à manger?
    - Si oui, comment as-tu appris? (Livre de recette, en regardant…)
    - Avez-vous des souvenirs de faire à manger avec votre mère et/ou votre grand-mère? De les regarder faire à manger?
    - Avez-vous des souvenirs de faire à manger avec votre père et/ou votre grand-père? De les regarder faire à manger?
    - Quels livres de recettes étaient utilisés dans ta maison lorsque vous étiez jeune? Aujourd'hui?
    - Quel est votre repas préféré à préparer?
8. Comment est-ce que vos habitudes de cuisine ont changé lorsque vous vous êtes marié(e)s?

Appendix B: Oral History Consent Form

ORAL HISTORY CONSENT FORM

INVESTIGATOR: Emily Weiskopf-Ball - emilyweiskopf@hotmail.com

INTERVIEWER: Emily Weiskopf-Ball

DATE:

PROJECT DESCRIPTION:

The aim of this project is to determine the extent to which traditional foodways are an indicator and/or marker of cultural affiliation. Through oral history interviews, this study documents the views and experiences of Francophone residents of Astorville, Ontario in order to better understand how French culture has evolved over the past three generations. Knowing that modernization and urbanization have changed the lifestyle of this once agricultural community, that women now participate in the workforce, and that the number of residents who actually lived on farms is decreasing, this is an important time to understand the cultural evolution among three generations of this Francophone group as it has gone from a majority to a minority. This study may also help anticipate the future for the minority group in this place.

BENEFITS:

Participating in this study will help contribute to Astorville's local history by adding to the bank of oral history interviews stored at the East Ferris Public Library started during the 2015, Astorville Celebrates celebration. These interviews will also help younger generations of Franco-Ontarians to learn about traditional foods by teaching them the importance of the food and showing them how to make some of these foods. The data collected throughout this project will benefit all residents, students, and researchers interested in learning about rural, Francophone communities.

RISKS:

While talking about food generally brings back happy memories, sometimes these discussions may bring up painful ones. I have attached a list of contacts for mental health professional in the area able to talk with you if you need them.

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW:

The interview will be either audio taped, videotaped, or digitally recorded. In the interview you may be identified by name, subject to your consent. You may also be identified by name in any transcript of such interview. If you choose to have information remain confidential, the interview will take place off the record. If you agree to be recorded by video, it may not be possible to ensure confidentiality

The interview will take one to three hours and you can withdraw at any moment. If you have any questions about the research project or procedures you may contact the principal investigator, Emily Weiskopf-Ball.

TASKS:

Participants will be asked to participate in at least two interviews.

1. A filmed and audio taped semi-structured interview. During this interview, participants will be asked questions about their family, home life, childhood, language practices, religious affiliation, rituals, and traditional food practices…
2. A filmed and audio taped culinary chat during which they make a traditional food of their choice. During this interview, they will be asked to explain their connection to the dish: why they chose it, what makes it traditional, how they learnt to make it.

STORAGE:

The filmed and audio taped interviews will be transcribed and the data will be stored on my personal, password protected computer until the project is completed. These recordings will be made available once the project is complete at the East Ferris Public Library 1257 Village Road, Astorville, ON P0H 1B0 where they will be stored in the public, oral history archive. Parts of the interviews may also used on a community historical website. Transcripts will not be archived.

INTERVIEWER:

If you accept to be interviewed, I, _____, promise to respect the sensitivity of your experience and the terms of this consent form.

COMPLAINTS:

Complaints about the project can be addressed to Dr. Linda M. Ambrose at 705-675-1151 ext. 4204 or by email at lambrose@laurentian.ca. You can also communicate with the **Research Ethics Officer, Laurentian University Research Office, telephone: 705-675-1151 ext 2436 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 or by email at ethics@laurentian.ca**

Signature: _____

Date: _____

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

CHERCHEUR : Emily Weiskopf-Ball - emilyweiskopf@hotmail.com

ENTREVUE PAR : Emily Weiskopf-Ball

DATE :

DESCRIPTION DU PROJET :

Le but de ce projet est de déterminer jusqu'à quel point la nourriture traditionnelle est un indicateur de l'identité culturel. Par l'entremise d'entrevues, cette étude cherche à documenter le point de vue et les expériences des citoyens d'Astorville, Ontario pour enfin comprendre comment la culture francophone a évolué au courant des trois dernières générations. Sachant que la modernisation et l'urbanisation ont changé la vie de cette communauté qui, à un temps, était majoritairement agricole, que les femmes participent maintenant dans le monde du travail, et que le montant de personnes qui parlent présentement le français diminue avec chaque recensement, c'est un moment opportun et important de comprendre l'évolution culturelle de ce groupe francophone. Cette étude pourra possiblement aussi aider à anticiper le futur de ce groupe maintenant minoritaire dans ce village.

AVANTAGES :

Ceux et celles qui participent à cette étude aideront à contribuer à l'historique d'Astorville en ajoutant à la banque d'entrevues qui sont entreposées à la bibliothèque municipale d'East Ferris qui a été commencé lors du projet Astorville en fête en 2015. Ces entrevues aideront aux prochaines générations de Franco-ontariens d'apprendre au sujet de leur passé en leur enseignant comment faire de la nourriture traditionnelle ainsi que l'importance de ces mets pour l'identité culturelle. L'information recensée lors de ces entrevues aidera à tous les résidents d'Astorville de mieux comprendre ce regroupement important de la région et aidera aussi aux chercheurs et étudiants intéressés de mieux comprendre les communautés rurales et francophones de l'Ontario et du Canada.

RISQUES :

Parler de la nourriture et de son enfance rapporte généralement de bons souvenirs. Cependant, parfois ces souvenirs sont difficiles. Je vous remets donc aussi une liste d'organisations et de professionnels en santé mentale dans la région qui peuvent vous parler et vous aider si vous en avez besoin.

ENTREVUES :

Les entrevues seront enregistrées par vidéo et de façon audio. Vous serez donc identifié dans ceux-ci. Les entrevues seront transcrites. Si vous préférez contribuer de façon anonyme, votre information restera confidentielle et l'entrevue ne sera pas filmée. En acceptant d'être filmé, vous comprenez qu'il ne sera pas possible de garantir la confidentialité.

DÉROULEMENT :

Les participants sont demandés de participer à au moins deux entrevues.

1. Une entrevue semi-structurée durant laquelle ils répondront à des questions au sujet de leur famille, leur vie familiale, leur enfance, leur langue, leur religion, leurs traditions et leur nourriture. Cette entrevue sera filmée et enregistré.

2. Les participants prépareront un met traditionnel de leur choix. Durant cette étape, ils expliqueront leurs connexion au met : pourquoi ils l'ont choisi, ce qui rend ce met traditionnel, comment ils ont appris à le faire… Cette entrevue sera filmée et enregistré.

ENTREPOSAGE :

Les entrevues seront transcrites et l'information sera gardée sur mon ordinateur personnel qui est protégé avec un mot de passe. Une fois le projet terminé, une copie des enregistrements seront entreposées en archives à la bibliothèque municipale d'East Ferris 1257 chemin Village, Astorville, ON P0H 1B0. Des parties des entrevues seront possiblement utilisées sur un site web historique communautaire. Les transcriptions ne seront pas mises en archives. Ils resteront dans ma possession.

PARTICIPANT :

Si vous consentez à faire partie du projet, je, _____ promets de respecter vos expériences et d'utiliser l'information avec respect.

PLAINTES :

Si vous avez des plaintes, vous pouvez communiquer avec sois Dr. Linda M. Ambrose au 705-675-1151 ext. 4204 ou par courriel à lambrose@laurentian.ca. Vous pouvez aussi communiquer avec le **Research Ethics Officer, Laurentian University Research Office, téléphone: 705-675-1151 ext 2436 ou sans frais au 1-800-461-4030. Vous pouvez aussi communiquer par courriel ethics@laurentian.ca**

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C: List of Counselling Contact Numbers for Interviewees Who Wish to Contact a Counsellor

List of Counselling Contact Numbers for Interviewees who wish to contact a Counsellor.
For Residents of Astorville:

North Bay Regional Hospital
Mental Health Services Administration
Telephone: 705-474-1200
50 College Drive, North Bay, ON P1B 5A4

Compass Centre for Mental Health and Wellness
(705) 478-6699
107 Shirreff Ave, Suite 205 North Bay, ON P1B 7K8

Canadian Mental Health Association
705-474-1299
156 McIntyre St. W. North Bay, ON

For all Interviewees (whether residents or non-residents of Astorville) who wish to contact a counsellor:

Call the Provincial Mental Health Helpline at 1-866-531-2600 or
Check the Mental Health Helpline website at: http://www.mentalhealthhelpline.ca for other options (e.g. email service).

List de professionnels en santé mentale pour les participants qui aimeraient parler avec quelqu'un après notre entrevue.

Pour les résidents d'Astorville:

Centre régional de santé de North Bay
Telephone: 705-474-1200
50 College Drive, North Bay, ON P1B 5A4

Compass Centre for Mental Health and Wellness
(705) 478-6699
107 Shirreff Ave, Suite 205 North Bay, ON P1B 7K8

Association canadienne pour la santé mentale
705-474-1299
156 McIntyre St. W. North Bay, ON

Pour tous participants (d'Astorville ou autre régions) qui aimeraient rejoindre quelqu'un en santé mentale:

Appelez la Ligne d'aide sur la santé mentale au 1-866-2600
Visiter leur site web http://www.mentalhealthhelpline.ca/Accueil/Index pour autre options (par exemple courriel).

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form

INTERVIEWEE:
I, _____ (name 16+)
consent to be interviewed by

_____ (name of interviewer)
in the context of this research project. It is understood that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any moment or to not respond to certain questions.

I allow my child to participate in this research project: _____
(parent/guardian signature).

I agree to be quoted directly by the interviewer: _____.
OR
I agree to speak anonymously, off the record, with the interviewer. This means my information will inform the research without identifying me any way I will not be filmed or taped: _____.

I agree to have a copy of this interview donated to a museum and/or archive for the use of other researchers. It is understood that access to this recording is open to other researchers. _____.

I grant permission for Emily Weiskopf-Ball and future researchers to use all or part of this interview in the form of a transcript or in digital form on a community history website and in the publication of future projects without seeking further consent. _____ .

Date
Donor Name
Parental consent if a minor
Signature
Address
Telephone number
Email address

PARTICIPANT:

Je, _____ (nom âgé 16+)
permets de participer à une entrevue avec
_____ (chercheur)
dans le cadre de ce projet de recherche. Je comprends que je peux de me retirer de cette entrevue à n'importe quel temps et que je n'ai pas besoin de répondre à certaines questions.

Je permet à mon enfant (-16 ans de participer à ce projet) : _____(signature du parent)

Je suis d'accord que mes mots pourront être utilisés par le chercheur: _____
OU
Je suis d'accord que je vais parler de façon anonyme, confidentielle, avec le chercheur. L'information que je partage servira d'information générale mais je ne serai pas filmé(e) ou enregistré(e): _____

Je suis d'accord qu'une copie de cette entrevue sera déposée en archives à la bibliothèque municipale pour que d'autres chercheurs et étudiants puissent l'utiliser dans leurs projets de recherche. _____

Je permets à Emily Weiskopf-Ball et autres chercheurs futurs d'utiliser tout ou une partie de cette entrevue en forme de citation ou électroniquement sur un site historique communautaire. Je permets aussi que cette information puisse être utilisée dans le futur sans demande de consentement. _____

Date
Nom du participant
Consentement d'un parent si le/la participant/e a moins que 18 ans
Signature
Adresse
Numéro de téléphone
Adresse électronique

Appendix E: List of Interview Questions for Culinary Chats

Interview #2 – Observation of Food Preparation

Chosen food: _____

1. Why did you choose to make this particular food for today's interview?
2. When did you learn to make it? Who taught you?
3. Have you taught anyone else to make this food? Whom? Under what circumstances (together, over the phone, recipe written down…)?
4. Where else have you eaten this food?
5. Why do you feel this is traditional? What makes it special?
6. What memories do you associate with this food?
7. Was there a food you would have rather made but couldn't?
8. Who else makes food in your family? Why is this?
9. Talk to me about your kitchen. What do you like about it? What would you change?
10. Talk to me a little about the evolution and/or history of this particular dish. Where does it come from? Has it gotten easier to make it with time? Do you think people will still be making in twenty, fifty, a hundred years from now?

Entrevue #2 – Observation de la préparation de nourriture

Met choisi : _____

1. Pourquoi avez-vous choisi de faire ce met pour notre entrevue?
2. Quand et comment avez-vous appris à le faire (quel âge, par qui…)?
3. Avez-vous déjà enseigné à quelqu'un d'autre à faire ce mets? À qui? Pourquoi? Comment avez-vous transmis l'information?
4. Où avez-vous mangé ce mets?
5. Pourquoi considérez-vous ce mets comme étant traditionnel? Que rends ce mets spécial?
6. Quels souvenirs associez-vous avec ce mets?
7. Est-ce qu'il y a autres mets que vous auriez préféré faire aujourd'hui mais que vous ne pouvez pas?
8. Qui d'autre fait ce mets dans votre famille? Pourquoi?
9. Parlez-moi de votre cuisine. Qu'aimez-vous de cette salle et cet espace? Que voudriez-vous changer?
10. Parlez-moi de l'évolution de ce met en particulier. D'où vient-il? Est-il devenu plus facile à le faire avec le temps? Pensez-vous que le mets existera et sera encore important dans vingt, cinquante, cent ans?

Appendix F: Excerpts from the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

Constitution Act, 1982
Part I
Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
Official Languages of Canada

Minority Language Educational Rights

Language of instruction

23. (1) Citizens of Canada

(a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or

(b) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province,

have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province.

(2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language.

Application where numbers warrant

(3) The right of citizens of Canada under subsections (1) and (2) to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province

(a) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction; and
(b) includes, where the number of those children so warrants, the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds.

Appendix G: List of Traditional Foods

Table 6: List of Traditional Foods	
Food Item	**Occurrence**
Apple pie with cheddar cheese	4
Banana Bread	1
Barbequed Food	4
Beans (Fêves au lard)	17
Big Hearts (Lebkuchen)	2
Blood Sausage/Boudin	4
Bouili aux fêves	7
Bread (Homemade)	6
Bread pudding	1
Brunch	3
Burbon Burgers (a hot turkey sandwich) (American)	2
Butter Tarts	2
Cabbage Rolls	1
Cake (Dutch avec currents and raisin)	1
Cakes in general	1
Chicken Pot pies	2
Chicken Wings	4
Chinese Food (with toast)	2
Chipits Cake (German cake)	1
Chips	2
Chocolate Sprinkles (Dutch treat)	1
Christmas Cookies and Desserts	7
Cinnamon Buns	4
Cipaille	29
Coleslaw	4
Corn on the Cob	4
Corn Relish	1
Cranberries	1
Crêpes	3
Crock Pot	3
Donuts	2
Dumplings (Grand-pères)	4
Escargots	1
Fish and Chips	5
Fondu	3

French Onion Soup	2
French Toast	1
Fries with Mayo (Dutch)	1
Fruit Cake/Gâteaux aux fruits	2
Gallettes à m'lasse	4
Gigot (venison)	4
Glissants	4
Ham/Jambon	7
Hamburgers (Homemade)	1
Head Cheese/Creton	2
Honey Cake (German)	1
Honey Garlic Spare Ribs	1
Hot Sponge Milk Cake with Brown Sugar Icing (Finnish)	1
Hot Turkey Sandwich	1
Ice Cream with Fruit	2
Jam	3
Japanese	1
Kabobs	1
Käse Spätzle (German)	2
Lasagna	4
Légumes Frais (tomates, concombre)	3
Mac & Cheese	7
Maple Syrup	3
Marinaded Pork Tenderloin	1
Meatloaf	6
Mexican (tacos, burritos, fajita, nachos)	4
Nova Scotia Cake	2
Oatmeal Raison Cookies	4
Papercoupe (Dutch)	1
Partridge	2
Pasta (Sometimes homemade)	3
Patates à Galettes	6
Pea Soup	1
Peameal Bacon	1
Pepsi	1
Pettes de Sœur	5
Pickled Foods (beets, carrots…)	3
Pies (sugar and fruit)	16
Piragatas (Finnish)	1

Pizza (Homemade)	6
Popcorn	3
Pork Rinds/Grillette à lard	5
Poutine	7
Poutine à framboise	1
Pudding chaumeur	1
Quiche	1
Ragout	5
Rice and Peas (St. Lucian)	1
Roasts (beef, chicken, cottage roll, turkey)	16
Roller Coaster	1
Salade verte en crème sûre avec concombre	1
Salmon Pie	4
Sausage	2
Shepherd's Pie	7
Shortbread Cookies	4
Soups (ex: hamburger, vegetable soup)	6
Spaghetti around the Turkey	1
Spaghetti Sauce	4
Spätzle (German)	1
Steamed Cabbage and Carrots (St. Lucian)	1
Stew (sometimes with sliders)	4
Stewed Chicken with Brown Sauce (St. Lucian)	1
sucre à crème	5
Tarte à farlouche	1
Tea Biscuits	2
Tire d'érable/Maple Taffy	3
Tire St. Catherine	2
Tourtière	27
Venison	7
Waffles (German)	1
Won Ton Soup (Chinese)	2